**Reviving the Sanskrit Past: Kham sprul bstan ‘dzin chos kyi nyi ma and Tibetan Poetry**

Tenzin Tsepak

The Eighteenth century in Tibet reflects a period of revival of the Sanskrit past and the recovery of the old text. Situated within this period in Tibet, Si tu PaN chen chos kyi ‘byung gnas (1699-1774) and his disciple Khams sprul bstan ‘dzin chos kyi nyi ma (1730-1780) occupy the last and most important phase in the transmission of Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa into Tibet. Si tu, in his translation of the Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, offered a parallel Tibetan translation along with the Sanskrit root text and his disciple Kham sprul offered us a detailed commentary of Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa. In this paper, I want to explain the ways in which Kham sprul’s commentary differed from previously available commentaries of Kāvyādarśa in Tibet, while also highlighting some of the reasons that led Kham sprul to write his commentary. Kham sprul’s knowledge of Sanskrit is one of the most important features that enabled him to compose with such authority. Kham sprul for instance mentioned how particular words or lines had been mistranslated in previous commentaries and offered us corrections to the translations. For things that are not clear to him he had submitted questions to Si tu, which also ended up in the Collected Works (Gsung ‘bum) of Si tu. There are, altogether, eighteen questions that Kham sprul submitted in written form and both questions and answers deal specifically with various topics from Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa. It is within this rigorous scholarly tradition that importance is given to philology and the Sanskrit past, and due to the support from the scholarly community, Kham sprul was enabled to write his commentary. As such, perhaps we can consider it one of the most authentic commentaries of Kāvyādarśa in Tibet that is closest to the Sanskrit text. I will also offer a brief history of the composition of Kham sprul’s commentary where it was published or reprinted. For these questions I look primarily at Khams sprul’s commentary of Kāvyādarśa Snyan ngag me long gi ‘grel pa dbyangs can ngag gi rol mtsho, his autobiography and diaries Rang tshul lhug par smras pa ma bcos g.nyug ma’i rang grol, and Si tu’s Dris len sna tshogs nor bu ke tva ka ka’i phreng ba. Put together, these texts reveal an important aspect of the Tibetan intellectual history in the eighteenth century.

**Introducing The Complete Qomolangma Tibetan Fonts**

Tashi Tsering

Since 2008, we have been working on The Qomolangma Tibetan Unicode Fonts, a Tibetan font developing project supported by the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC). On the 12nd International Seminar for Tibetan Studies in 2010, we have introduced 10 Tibetan Unicode fonts from the project. In 2013, on the 13rd IATS, we have introduced two more Tibetan Unicode fonts from the same project. And this year of 2015, we are concluding our seven-year-long font developing project by introducing five more very unique Tibetan Unicode fonts to the community. Totally, we have developed 17 Tibetan Unicode fonts under the project. On the 14th IATS, we are going to introduce these five new Tibetan fonts to the community, along with the 12 old fonts that had already been released to the public before. A demo of the details of the all 17 Qomolangma Tibetan fonts will be presented on the seminar. A CD of the 17 Tibetan fonts has been formally released. And Qomolangma Tibetan Computer Fonts, a beautiful calligraphy book for the 17 complete Qomolangma Tibetan fonts, has also been published by the China Tibetology Publishing House. The book with the font CD will be presented to every participant of our panel during the seminar. And more importantly, all the 17 Tibetan fonts are free to the entire community. During the seminar, the fonts will be available to all participants for free to copy.

# ངམ་རིང་གྲྭ་སྐོར་གྱི་ཟྭུང་རབས་དང་དར་རྒྱུན། The Historical Flourish and decline of the Ngam-ring Buddhist academic tour

Tsewang Topla

This article outlines exactly when this tradition started to develop in Tibetan Buddhist philosophical debate classes. It specifically analyzes the cause and conditions of the historical ups and downs of the Ngam-ring academic tour. Technical terms: Buddhist academic tour, Ngam-ring academic tour. History of Ngam-ring Buddhist academic tour "One needs to get ready from the time of winter debate to participate in the Ngam-ring summer debate" Academic tour is a process of eliminating doubts in the form of argument and revision by moving from one monastery to another. The great 5th Dalai Lama stated the tradition of Rabjam academic tour was founded by Phagmo Drupa in Tsethang1, this was in fact just Ramjam academic tour and not actual tour, which had started earlier. The text sbtsan-rtsais-gsal-b'i-nyin-byed reads, "Buton rinpoche at the age of 21 in 1311 went on academic tour in U-Tsang region" 2. According to the 'Lineage of Depa Yeru Jangpa' and the 'Gaden Choejung', Ngam-ring academic tour was founded during the time of Chokle-Namgyal, the 5th abbot of Ngam-ring monastery. 3. The cause and conditions of the flourish and decline of Ngam-ring academic tour "No one can rival Ngam-ring monstic knowledge No one can rival the wealth of the Shelkar monastery" During Phagmo-Drupa's reign, Ngam-ring and Shelkar monastery were well known centers in La-stod region. Historically, there has been very stiff competition between the two. In 1401, while Bodhong scholar of Shelkar monastery was on his tour in Ngam-ring monastery, he debated with Khedrub Je of Ngam-ring monastery and Khedrub Je was triumphed4. Perhaps the idiom was originated from it. Ngam-ring monastery is a center in which Tsongkhapa did his academic tour in four fields also Khedrub Je defeated Bodhong, thus a trend among Gelug monks. The Vth Dalai Lama toured Ngam-ring monastery according to Governor Sonam Choephel. 5 In 1614, the political power of Yeru Jangpa weakend and Ngam-ring academic tour was badly lost but renovated in 1861. In 1895, Zepa Trulku restored the tour tradition6 but lost in 1959.

**Wicked Witches or Benevolent Taras: A Study of Women Leadership in Khams History**

Yudru Tsomu

There is a universal predilection to depict strong female political leaders either as goddesses or witches. Tibetan historical narratives are no exception to this tendency to portray women in disparate terms or to ignore them altogether. There is an absence of discussion on the role played by women in Tibetan history in general and in regional studies of Tibetan cultural areas in particular. My paper focuses on the important role played by Khams pa women in the early twentieth century. The overlooking of histories of Khams pa women's active involvement in the political life in traditional Tibetan historical narratives dominated by male-centered patriarchal assumptions has contributed to the "marginalization" of women's roles in the making of modern Tibet. This paper aims to provide a preliminary discussion of the role of Khams pa women in political life by examining the lives of three notable women chieftains. At the beginning of the twentieth century, three prominent women leaders came to the fore and dominated local politics in Kham. They have been collectively described either as Khams pe'i sgrol ma rnam gsum (The Three Glorious Taras of Kham) or Khams pa'i bdud mo gsum (The Three demonesses of Kham). The three women were Khang gsar dbyangs can sgrol ma (also known as Khang gsar dbyangs can mkha' 'gro) from dkar mdzes, Bya rgod tshe dbang sgrol ma in Sde dge and Rgya ri 'Chi med sgrol ma in Nyag rong. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Khang gsar dbyang can sgrol ma, the seventh chief (dpon) of Khang gsar, was instrumental in extending the Khang gsar family's authority and expanding its territory through marriage alliances with other prominent chiefs such as Hor Ma zur and Hor Be ri. After her husband Bya rgod bkra shis rnam rgyal was assassinated in early 1910s, Bya rgod tshe dbang sgrol ma succeeded him as the mdun skor (aristocratic retinue appointee) of Sde dge. In this position, she led followers of the Bya rgod family who had joined forces with 'Jam dpal rin chen, the younger son of the twelfth Sde dge king 'Chi med rtag pa'i rdo rje in his 1909 fight against his elder brother Rdo rje seng ge and the Commissioner of Sichuan and Yunnan Borderlands Zhao Erfeng. She was forced to go into exile in Central Tibet, where she succeeded in having her family become part of the nobility due to her followers' outstanding military performance in fighting against the Qing troops in Lhasa following the 1911 revolution. Rgya ri 'Chi med sgrol ma not only played a very important role in the politics of Nyarong in the early twentieth century, but also participated in the "Kham for Khampa Movement" launched by the Mgar ra lama (Gara Lama) in 1935–1936. She fought against troops under the Chinese warlord Liu Wenhui's

No. 24 army and served as the magistrate of Nyarong County appointed by the Gara Lama's Office of the Pacification Commissioner of Kham. Drawing on oral and written Chinese and Tibetan accounts, my paper situates the lives of these three women in relation to the politics of Dergé, Nyarong, and Kardzé in the first half of the twentieth century. Looking at the activities of these women in light of the historical record, I offer an analysis of the gendered representation and treatment of women leaders in contemporary historical narratives of Kham.

**'First they take it away, then they offer it back': A Khampa clan history through a woman's eyes.**

Maria Turek

The present contribution discusses a story of the Zhi-mo Tshang aristocratic (mdun skor) family from the sDe-dge kingdom before and after 1950 as told by the 70-year-old A-bkag and her elder sister A-bkra, recorded in spring 2015 at their family home in the village of rDzo-skyu-zla just outside rDzong-gsar, today's Sichuan province. The sisters' previously untold account can provide us with an opportunity to think about social and narrative dispossession in new ways. I will ask why their story was neglected and link the multiple layers of dispossession to processes in which gender, whether literal or figurative, may play a part. For the symmetries between ethnographer and her informants, the gender aspect of the paper will additionally be explored through a self-reflexive investigation. Typically for many eastern Tibetan clans, the Zhi-mo Tshang history abounds in factionalist feuds and bloody conflicts, whose success was often believed to be dependent on ritual protection. In the beginning of the 20th century, when many from the sDe-dge nobility were engaged in a struggle for succession, the Zhi-mo Tshang were drawn into the conflict under the pretext of a land dispute with the powerful strongman Bya-rgod sTobs-ldan. In the late 1950's, the Zhi-mo clan were purged and persecuted, their house seized and turned into a collective farming unit. In the recent times, the government returned the house to the sisters' possession. Their powerlessness in the face of such instrumentalization is reflected in A-bkag's comment, "First they take it away, then they grant it [back again]" (phyi len tshur sbyin). Although in the past, eastern Tibetan women played important roles as queens, clan matriarchs, warriors or entrepreneurs, most protagonists of the sisters' tale are men, especially those who embody the Khampa machismo ideal. This mnemonic practice is connected with narrative emphasis on armed conflict and its cultural necessity of association with masculinity. Although it may be empowering for the two women that their untold story unfolds within this ethnography, the previous obscurity of their testimony and the marginal portrayal of female family members in it lead us to a question: can empowerment be supplemented from beyond local, cultural contexts and from alien discourses? The first layer of dispossession of the women in the center of this study concerns denying many Tibetans in the PRC a voice in history making; the violence against China's minorities and their subjugation were sometimes marked with metaphors of femaleness to legitimize their domination. Regarding another layer of dispossession, in today's PRC, history belongs to its official holders: licensed academics from the universities in China proper and locally in Kham, to a select group of traditional

scholars, mostly ordained men. The Zhi-mo Tshang house, both object and container of the social and narrative dispossession of the sisters is fetishized by historiographers, Han and Tibetans alike, as a receptacle of local past. At the same time, the women living in this house, even if they are the last surviving custodians of a locally important narrative, are routinely bypassed in their capability to remember that past. As for the third layer of dispossession, for A-bkag and A-bkra, communist social reforms did not only mean material disownment, but also loss of status and identity. While the revival of authority of religious elites in Kham has been widely studied, we have learned very little about the social roles and identities of former secular elites or their place in the collective memory and historiographic practices of Tibetans. This paper seeks to explore whether the sisters' account could be seen as a negotiation of the right for self-representation by an irrelevant social class suspended between a sense of displacement and citizenship identity in modern China, between nurturing memory (a role sometimes attributed to women) and oblivion. The larger objective of this contribution is to critically approach the preoccupation with the peripherized and the marginalized in social history and anthropology of ethnic Tibet. In places like China, history laughs in the face of this practice: case studies like the one above show us that it is often the former elites who become subjected to disregard, even by Western scholarship. We are thus provided with the opportunity to rethink the "subaltern."

**The rhetoric of conversation: defining the conditions for dialogue with the Tibetan intellectual tradition**

Philippe Turenne

This paper looks at recent attempts at solving issues raised regarding the interpretation of Tibetan intellectual works by appealing to the notions of conversation and dialogue with the tradition. Problems of interpretation such as cultural distance, appeals to objectivity, and unequal relations are sometimes addressed by appealing to the notion of an intellectual dialogue between intellectuals of various traditions. Reviewing recent appeals to dialogue, I will argue that many such attempts fail to establish the conditions for an equal and open dialogue to take place between academics and the Tibetan tradition, for they do not present enough clarity and detail on the conditions required for a real dialogue to take place. For example, the question of whether concerns of other traditions are addressed in the definition of research questions, of materials to be studied or issues to be prioritized is often left aside or considered unproblematic. This paper will attempt to define the conditions that need to be in place for members of the Tibetan tradition to be able to participate in research projects as more than passive informants or sources of information, but rather as active collaborators in the definition of research projects. I will argue that in addition to a sincere desire for dialogue, a thorough reflection on the methods that will make such a dialogue possible is also required, entailing a reevaluation of our own position as academic researchers, our expectations and assumptions regarding what our work produces, and how that relates with concerns of Tibetan intellectuals. Issues that need to be addressed include the need for a theory of the place of intellectual activity in their wider cultural environment – especially in the context of a Buddhist tradition –, of the "logic" behind Tibetan intellectual practices, and on the way academic methods can be perceived from a Tibetan point of view. Based on recent scholarship on textual interpretation and the role of informants, I will propose that, if concerns coming from the tradition about academic practice are addressed seriously, a more fruitful and legitimate dialogue can actually take place to the benefit of both the academic and the Tibetan traditions.

**Visionary manifestations and liberatory amulets in Rindzin Gödem's Dzokchen anthology**

Katarina Turpeinen

How can one attain awakening through the medium of seeing, hearing or touching? This paper discusses the employment of senses in the Great Perfection tradition, in particular the Dzokchen anthology of Rindzin Gödem, The Unimpeded Realization of Samantabhadra. I shall analyse the role of seeing in the practice of direct transcendence (thod rgal), and how the sense of vision plays an integral role in the liberatory transformation of the perceiving subject. These practices employ natural light sources and sensory deprivation as tools to induce visionary manifestations that are the focus of sustained meditative gazing, resulting in fundamental changes in awareness. My paper discusses how the sense of vision connects these contemplative practices to Dzokchen philosophy, physiology and psychology, and highlights the distinctive character of this indigenous Tibetan tradition. Gödem's Dzokchen anthology also contains texts on preparing amulets that liberate upon wearing (btags grol). In addition, seeing the sacred tantras contained in the amulets or hearing them being recited is said to result in awakening. My paper will discuss the metaphysical foundation of these liberatory amulets in Dzokchen philosophy, and how the liberating effect of this type of sensory perception is derived from the sensory experiences of the primordial Buddha Samantabhadra in the cosmogonic narratives of the anthology.

**Symbolic, monetary and nutritional values of rice: "food security" re-examined in Bhutan's rural context**

Akiko Ueda

Many international organisations generally measure food security in terms of calorie intake, and even in a broader sense, it is understood in terms of nutrients, such as protein, fat and vitamins. However, these conceptualisations do not accommodate the symbolic significance that food items may hold in a society. A series of recent studies on the food security situation in rural areas of Bhutan, however, suggest that dietary needs are not the only factors that inform local ideas about subsistence and nourishment. A stable food supply should also account for a community's symbolic food requirements. Amongst the food items found to be of sociocultural importance, rice was centrally positioned in Bhutan both as a dietary staple and as a precious commodity for religious purposes. For instance, a particular kind of rice is kept for religious rituals and funerals, sometimes at the cost of household consumption. The fact that the charge to lease paddy land (wet-land) is much higher than agricultural land for other agricultural products (dry-land) seems to also signify the special position that rice occupies in Bhutanese society. Through an examination of cases, which illustrate how people are striving to meet their symbolic food requirements, and an exploration of how these particular needs are reflected in the monetary values of food items and land, the paper aims to acquire a more comprehensive and culturally relevant understanding of "food security".

**A Study of the Daily Archives of the Yunghegong Temple in Beijing during the Early Qianlong Period**

Sangseraima Ujeed

The Yung He Gong "the Palace of Heavenly Peace" in the Dongcheng district of Beijing was officially converted from the palace of residence of the Yungzhong Emperor into a Dge-lugs-pa temple in 1744 during the reign of the Qianlong Emperor. The newly converted Yonghegong temple (Ch. 雍和宫, Tib. *Dga' ldan byin chags gling,* M. *Nairalt Nairamdakh Suum*) was then established as the national centre of lama administration of the Qing Empire and became the residing place for a huge number of Tibetan and Mongolian Dge-lugs-pa lamas. Since its establishment, the temple became an important centre of religious and political activity and hosted some of the most important religious state guests such as the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. A twenty-four volume photographic reproduction of the daily archives of the temple was recently published in Beijing. The original handwritten archival volumes were composed mainly in Manchu and some Chinese with the Manchu occupying much of the material covering the earlier days of the temple after its conversion into a Dge-lugs-pa temple. There are also some numbers of Mongolian and Tibetan material in the form of letters and petitions within the volumes. The material within the volumes consists of detailed accounts such as that of the daily religious activities in the temple, emperors decrees, petitions made to the emperor, records of donations, visits from important figures such as the Dalai Lama etc, records of renovations and constructions at the temple site and so on. This proposed paper is an analysis of the first of the twenty-four volumes of the archival material in the context of the role of the temple as a religio-political administrative centre in the heart of the Qing capital during the early days of the temple in the 18th century.

**Dharma from the Sky: the Pang Kong prayer**

Sam van Schaik

The traditional story of the first appearance of the dharma in Tibet tells of a number of books that fell from the sky onto the roof of a Tibetan king's palace. When these books are listed, most are fairly obvious choices, like texts dedicated to the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. But one prayer that usually crops up in this list is more obscure - a confession liturgy, even the name of which became garbled in the later Tibetan tradition. In this paper I trace this liturgy back to Dunhuang, where we can reconstruct its name as "The Hundredfold Pang Kong". The latter part of the name is probably a transliteration from Chinese, and I explore the possibilities for its meaning, also showing that this liturgy ultimately derives from a Chinese source. Finally looking at the appearances of the Pang Kong prayer in liturgical collections among the Dunhuang manuscripts, I offer some speculations about why it temporarily became important enough to Tibetans to be included in the list of the first Buddhist books that fell from the sky into Tibet.

**Changkya Rolpé Dorjé and the Ordering of Natural Knowledge in the Dag yig mkhas pa'i byung gnas (1740) and Yuzhi siti Qing wenjian (1780)**

Stacey Van Vleet

During the Qing period, although many translations and multilingual works attest to the robust circulation of natural knowledge among imperial cultures, the ways in which distinct scholarly frameworks and institutional contexts mediated this circulation remain little understood. This paper compares the ordering of natural knowledge within two multilingual dictionary projects produced for different kinds of imperial audiences, both under the direction of the Qianlong emperor's well-known Buddhist preceptor Changkya Rolpé Dorjé (1717-1786). The Dag yig mkhas pa'i byung gnas (completed in 1740) and its successive multilingual editions are commentaries on the Mahāvyupatti and rooted in the Tibetan Buddhist canonical tradition, while the tetraglot Yuzhi siti Qing wenjian (completed shortly before 1780) was the first of the Manchu-based series of imperial polyglot dictionaries to include the Tibetan language (along with Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese). Comparing the classification of natural knowledge between these two texts is a first step towards examining how such knowledge was abstracted and made mobile between overlapping Buddhist and other Qing scholarly networks.

**An Enquiry into Beer Production in Tibetan Monasteries.**

Federica Venturi

Unlike in Benedictine and especially Cistercian monasteries, where the rule dictating "ora et labora" imposed on the monks to perform manual labor both as a form of contemplation and as a way to contribute to the financial autonomy of the institution to which they belonged, Tibetan monks are not required to work, and Tibetan monasteries have historically supported themselves through donations, endowments, payment of rents on landed estates, and the proceeds derived from the performance of religious services and from pilgrimage. However, in a 15th century genealogy of Sa skya, the Sa skya gdung rabs by Mus srad pa rDo rje rgyal mtshan (1424-1498), the existence of several beer houses within the Sa skya monastic compound is mentioned. Departing from the information in this text and other relevant sources, the proposed paper will attempt to establish the function of these chang-khang within the monastery, and particularly to assess the possible repercussions of their existence for the economic solvency of Sa skya. The paper will examine whether the beer was produced exclusively for in-house consumption or whether it was sold and thus represented a source of income for the monastery, and in addition will consider the social aspects connected to the presence of beer-making within a monastic setting.

**The First Modern Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary? A Preliminary Account of Dorje Tharchin's Monumental Dictionary Project**

Markus Viehbeck

To be clear: the five-volume Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary that Dorje Tharchin envisioned as his magnum opus was never actually published and it is therefore somewhat misleading to speak of it as "the first" of its kind. This appellation is commonly, and rightly, attributed to the dictionary of Geshe Chödrak, published in Lhasa in 1949. The close relationship that these two intellectuals enjoyed, however, has also lead to some discussions about possible influences of one on the other's work. This talk seeks to contribute to this discussion by exploring both the historical setting of Tharchin's dictionary project and its actual content. With regard to the first aspect I will make use of different archival sources in order to trace Tharchin's personal network and to explore his strategic position at the interface of traditional Tibetan scholarship and Tibetological scholarship as envisioned by global academics. This will also be enlightening for addressing loose influences as well as concrete agencies in producing Tharchin's dictionary. Relations to other, related dictionary projects will further be clarified by taking a closer look at the content of Tharchin's dictionary. This becomes possible through investigating a five-volume manuscript of the actual dictionary, which was discovered only recently at the Tharchin estate. In particular, this preliminary analysis will focus on comparing Tharchin's dictionary not only to the work of Geshe Chödrak, but also to the dictionary of Sarat Chandra Das, which, as I will show in my talk, must be seen as a model for Tharchin.

**The outset of the Sa skya pa presence in Upper Khams (mid 12th century)**

Roberto Vitali

The diffusion of the Sa skya pa in Upper Khams (Yar Khams aka mDo stod) is commonly associated with the work of 'gro mgon 'Phags pa (1235-1280) and sGa A gnyan dam pa (1230-1303) who established a good number of monasteries of the school locally. Less noticed in the historical literature is a preamble to these activities, which occurred some one hundred years earlier, at the time of a majestic effort by the bKa' brgyud pa to settle in the lands of Eastern Tibet. In this paper I deal with the foundation of the Sa skya pa monastery sKyed tshal by the Khams pa originator of the line of masters, bearing the same family name. He was a disciple of Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158). The monastery was peculiar owing to a distinctive feature, rare but not unique, for it was adopted by a small number of other ones. His successor in the lineage was responsible for the establishment of Tsong mda', one of the earliest dgon pa-s built during the phase of Sa skya pa effulgence in the region. I propose to look into some related developments fostered by these events.

**Some grammatical and lexical differences between the variants of central (Standard) Tibetan spoken in Lhasa and in the diaspora**

Zuzana Vokurková

The Lhasa dialect and the Tibetan spoken by the Tibetan communities living in the exile (India, Nepal) are very similar. However, one can find various minor differences in the grammar and numerous differences in the lexicon of these two variants of central (Standard) Tibetan. Concerning the differences in the grammar, these may be illustrated by the use of different verbal stems of a verb, by different verbal endings used in the same contexts or by different variants of case particles. The differences are also shown by some diverse negative epistemic endings. There are many lexical differences between the variant spoken in Lhasa and that of the diaspora. These are especially owed to the fact that nowadays spoken Tibetan has a huge number of loanwords from Chinese and English. Many words used in everyday speech in central Tibet have been borrowed from Chinese whereas the exile variant makes use of English borrowings (or from other languages). Nevertheless, there are also differences in the use of some words of the Tibetan origin between these two variants, such as personal pronouns or verbs. These differences are the aim in this study. Another example of geographical differences of Standard Tibetan is epistemic verbal endings. There are a few epistemic types that are common for central Tibet and the diaspora, but other types are only used in Lhasa and are rare in the diaspora. On the contrary, the epistemic type that is used most of the time in the diaspora is considered dialectal in Lhasa.

**What's so bad about 'Production from Other'? Early Prāsaṅgikas on the Relationships between Words and Mental States**

Kevin Vose

The transmission of Candrakīrti's texts into Tibet around the year 1100 transformed Madhyamaka thinking and shaped its direction in the ensuing centuries. The two figures primarily responsibly for this change, Pa tshab Nyi ma grags and Jayānanda, working largely independently from one another explicated a number of ways that Candrakīrti's interpretation of Madhyamaka offered a marked improvement over Tibet's pre-existent view, stemming mainly from Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla. Pa tshab's and Jayānanda's efforts would crystalize in the Prāsaṅgika-Svātantrika distinction in Tibetan Madhyamaka. This paper will examine one aspect of that distinction found in both Pa tshab's and Jayānanda's writings, the charge that Svātantrikas hold to a version of "production from other." While Candrakīrti's comments on Nāgārjuna's rejection of "production from other" were quite general and only indirectly tied to his critique of svatantra inference, Pa tshab and Jayānanda both charge Svātantrikas with supporting a logic intended to produce an understanding of emptiness in the minds of "others." While we might think that "changing minds" is just what any form of argument intends, Pa tshab and Jayānanda argue that svatantra inference requires a causal process that will prove impossible when applied to the central Madhyamaka doctrine of emptiness. Both argue that the use of prasaṅgas evades the trap of "production from other" and yet still accomplishes Mādhyamikas' soteriological goals. The paper will conclude with thoughts on how early Tibetan Mādhyamikas understood the relationship between arguments-as-words and realization-as-mental state.

**Narration, Memory, Identity: The Sog po A rig**

Ute Wallenböck

Over the course of history, the great Tibetan A rig tribe has been divided and reunited several times. Consequently, each sub-group has its own distinct history, society, religion and culture. Generally speaking, the A rig can be divided in three main groups (there has never been a strict division): the A rig stod ma (Upper A rig) in the Dzachuka grasslands, the A rig smad ma (Lower A rig) in the Qilian grasslands, and the A rig bar ma (Middle A rig) in the Henan grasslands. Members of the latter are the gTsang A rig, better known as 'Sog po A rig' as a consequence of their "mongolization" throughout history: The 'Sog po A rig' have been living within the Mongol kingdom of Sogpo or the Henan Mongol Banner (Henanmengqi) in the southeastern part of contemporary Qinghai province for centuries. But after the 'liberation' by the Chinese Communist Party in 1954, it turned into a new regime, and the Henan Mongol Banner was subsequently transformed into Henan Mongol Autonomous County. According to my informants, in order to obtain the status of autonomy, around 90% of its pastoral population had to become Mongol. In fact, the people's ethnic classification was determined by the state's administrators as well as by scholars such as Fei Xiaotong. In course of this state-sponsored Ethnic Classification work (1950-1980), the historical Tibetan gTsang A rig tribe became Mongol (Chin. Menggu zu), a category that covers several million 'Mongols' within the PRC. By contrast, the other members of the great historical A rig tribe as in the Dzachuka and in the Qilian grasslands were classified as Tibetan. No matter if classified Tibetan or Mongol, they all perceive themselves collectively as A rig. Subsequently, several questions are raised: How does a set of individuals become a collective entity? What do/did the 'Sog po Arig' have to sacrifice to become Mongol? What is/was the obligation of the 'Sog po Arig' to become Mongol? And how is this commitment sustained over time? Looking at the 'Sog po Arig' and their role in the construction of collective identity, my paper further focuses on the importance of memory and remembering in historical narratives. Theoretically based on Maurice Halbwachs' research on social memory and Aleida and Jan Assmann's research on cultural as well as communicative memory, I investigate how 'Sog po A rig' use their memories to establish a narrative of the past which forms the basis of their identity. Referring to cultural and social identity as part of narrative identity lived and told by combining fact and fiction (see Ricoeur), I will use ethnographical and ethno-historical perspectives to place memories in the context of identity. Based on information I have collected during my various long-term stays and research trips in Henan County, I will

examine how ‘Sog po A rig’ incorporate their memory into their identity construction, and how different memory frameworks and narratives interact with each another. At first, I question how ethnic, cultural and national identities are constructed, and furthermore, which narrations of the past and present play an important part in their construction of identity. Then, taking the current political and cultural situation of the ‘Sog po A rig’ as case in point, my paper will aim at a deeper understanding of the way in which certain narrative elements help (re-)building collective identities. I further question the essential cultural and social positions asserted by a narrative in terms of belonging and exclusion from certain ethnic groups (minority nationalities) within the PRC.

**The Next Generation Search Platform for Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center**

Jeffrey Wallman

The TBRC Digital Library is a treasure trove of textual sources used each day by thousands of researchers, translators, lineage masters, their disciples and the public. The textual sources include over 10 million pages of scanned text pages but also, now, 1 million pages of searchable eTexts. In addition to the textual sources, the TBRC Digital Library also contains extensive metadata (nearly 350,000 digital objects) not only of works, but of other important cultural models such as persons, places, topics, lineage transmissions (gsan yig) and corporations. From 2004 to 2006, in intimate collaboration with Gene Smith, TBRC engaged in an extensive knowledgebase development process aimed at capturing Smith's vision for a richly interconnected and searchable library, and expressing this vision in knowledge models based on the semantic web. At the time, platform support for semantic web technologies was lacking and TBRC chose to implement it's knowledge models in a family of "semantic web inspired" specialized XML Schema. Today, however, we see substantial interest in adopting the semantic web, particularly in the library space (BIBFRAME), and a growing technology platform aimed at supporting it. In this paper, I will provide an overview, illuminated with test cases and a working prototype, of TBRC's next generation search platform based on semantic web technologies such as RDF (resource description framework), OWL (web ontology language) and LDP (linked data platform) and the power they hold for traversing and sharing the TBRC Digital Library.

**Picking Up My Bones: The Kinship Terminology and the Idea of Flesh and Bone of Situ rGyalrong Tibetan in Northwest Sichuan**

Tingyu Wang

In studies of Himalayan Tibetans, kinship, marriage and social organization of western and central regions present a "harmonic regime", which means they correspond to each other, and give the appearance of consistency. For example ethnographies describing the Sherpa (Christopher von Fürer-Hamindorf 1963, 1964; N.J. Allen 1976) and Nyinba (Nancy Levine 1988) in the west display many consistencies with descriptions of Tibetan populations occupying the central Himalayas (Ippolito Desideri 1932, Barbara Nimri Aziz 1978, R.A. Stein 1972[1962]). On the other hand, a portrait of kinship, marriage and social organization among rGyalrong Tibetan populations who occupy the very eastern border of Himalayas presents a very different story. This paper will introduce how kinship terminology of rGyalrong people enhances their marriage rules, including their variated version of "flesh" and "bone". Most importantly, this paper demonstrates that even though kinship, marriage and social organization among the rGyalrong does not take on the immediate appearance of consistency, as these factors do among the Sherpa, they are not random but reveal a well-organized underlying and complementary structure. Descriptions of Tibetan societies of the western and central Himalayas that describe kinship and marriage consistently focus on the theme of "flesh" and "bone" in which relations between father, father's brother and their son, or siblings (including patrilateral parallel cousins) as "bones" construct lineages that persist through time, and between mother and her offspring as "flesh" create links between different lineages. Within this theme, the concept of flesh and bone construct and reproduce at least three patrilineal lines: ego's lineage, and the lineages of ego's wife-givers and wife-takers. Paul Benedict (1942), a historical linguist, described this system as sharing the features of the famous Omaha kinship system first described by Lewis Henry Morgan (1997[1871]). Lévi-Strauss (1969[1949]) also came to the same conclusion as Benedict, arguing that the Omaha system describes a hybridity of restricted and generalized exchange. Unlike Tibetan populations in the western and central Himalayas, the social organization of rGyalrong society is neither that of a patrilineal clan nor a lineage, such as "ru" in which people belong to the same "bone." Instead the central organizing feature of rGyalrong society is the "house" which has its name and descent line, although that descent line may be constructed thorough unrelated persons who become assigned to inherit this house assuring the house's survival and continuity. Therefore, when we turn our discussion to a comparison of

rGyalrong kinship terminology with the classic Tibetan system, some differences naturally appear in front of us. First, the rGyalrong system doesn't have terminology skewing as in the Tibetan system. Secondly, they do not show a preference rule for maternal cross cousin marriage, however, we can still observe that in a imply way partially from rGyalrong kinship terminology and their interpretation of flesh and bone. Third, even though the rGyalrong system uses the concept of flesh and bone as a complementary structure of glossing marriage rules, it carries a different connotation from the categories of flesh and bone in the Tibetan system. Unlike the Tibetan system, the rGyalrong system is not grounded in a "harmony" structure in which their "bone" forms a patrilocal and patrilineal lineage or clan, nor does "flesh" function to indicate affines. Finally, the concept of flesh and bone will not indicate and reproduce a marriage cycle as it does in the Tibetan system. Therefore, this paper will offer a preliminary analysis and description of how the "dissonance" system of rGyalrong works, focusing especially on how kinship terminology cooperates with the concepts of flesh and bone.

**Offering Mandala to Buddha: The Institution and Cosmology Represented in a Sacrificing Ritual of one Amdo Tibetan Community**

Wang Yuewei

This paper is going to describe a sacrificing ritual to the local god Thashi Yangla in one Amdo Tibetan community named Amchok Jshannyid. By describing and interpreting the ritual process and other social-cultural aspects related to it, this paper intends to illustrate how has the core role of Buddhism in the entire social life of Amchok been maintaining and creating vital institutions for the local community, and why the fundamental power shaping the local life is not the secular cause, but the religious one. Amchok Jshannyid Gelugpa Monastery locates in Amchok Township, Ngawa County, Ngawa Tibetan and Qiang autonomous prefecture, Sichuan Province of China. Its original small temple was build in 1823 and now Amchok Jshannyid Gompa is one of the biggest three monasteries within Ngawa region. There used to be seven tribes serving for Amchok Jshannyid Gompa, but two more tribes joined in since 2000. Tashi Yangla is the territorial god (yul lha) protecting animal husbandry production in the area and after Buddhism came in, he submitted to Buddhism and continued the obligation for local nomad people. He is not the formal Buddhism protective god because actually he hasn't finished the process to become a "holy Buddhist mountain god" (gnas ri) and still is the worldly god with human being's emotions and desires. Every year on the 5th June by Tibetan calendar, nomadic male people from nine Amchok tribes would gather in the living place of Tashi Yangla and operate the sacrificing ritual. The hosts of the ritual are generally the leaders of tribes. But this year, because of the abbot lama the fourth Amchok Rinpoche coming back from India, the ritual got adjusted in order to combine with the greeting ritual for him. In this occasion, the whole ritual got modified in four aspects: Time of ritual: The time for holding the sacrificing ritual for Tashi Yangla is fixed every year, but this year, people intended to combine this ritual with the greeting ritual for Amchok Rinpochen together, so the time of holding this ritual got postponed to 8th June in Tibetan calendar, which was 24th July in Gregorian calendar. Host of ritual: Amchok Rinpochen and other management monks in monastery became the main host of this ritual this year. But during the past time, the host of this ritual used to be the male leaders of villages and tribes. Meaning of ritual: Tashi Yangla is the mixture of worldly god, tribal god, mountain god and lake god. His main mission is to manage the pastoral works and people's fortune. In this year, because of the combination with greeting for Amchok Rinpochen, the meaning of this ritual became the union between worldly meaning and trans-worldly meaning. Structure of ritual: The location of this ritual was

on the grassland of *Amchok* township between *Amchok Jshannyid* monastery and the *Halama* Town in Hongyuan county, nearby the habitat place of *Tashi Yangla*, *Tsoqin Tsoqiong*, which means the big lake and small lake. Starting at the road connected Hongyuan and *Amchok*, the order of sacred objects in this ritual includes "Aromatic plants burning Alter"- "Wealth vases burying place"-" *la-rtse* of *Tashi Yangla*"- "Passageway for offerings"-"Hosted platform", but this year one more hosted platform was set up between *la-rtse* and the wealth vases burying place for *Amchok* Rinpoche and other eminent monks. Through this ritual, we can see the *Mandalizing* cosmology represented in the hierarchical practice of this ritual and the compact social Institution centered with the monastery. Different from the Himalaya Tibetan people's loose religious-social organization described in Sherry Ortner 's book *Sherpas through Their Rituals* (1978), or the idea that the most essential factor playing the fundamental role in Tibetan social life is the secular reason rather than the religious one which was noted in Barbara Aziz's *Tibetan Frontier Families*(1976), the life of *Amchok* society, which belongs to *Amdo* Tibetan area, actually presents a more strict and compact religious-social relationship and generalized a both united and vital local institution. In this strict but vital social institution, the Buddhism monastery and religious leaders act as the core. To discuss why and how has this compact institution been formed, this paper will interpret this question through four aspects: the Tibetan Buddhism cosmology, the history of *Amchok*, the charisma of *Amchok* Rinpoche, the crisis of modernity as well as the Identity construction of modern Tibetan people, and the ever-existing secular aspects of Tibetan Buddhism monastery.

**Defining the "Modern" Tibetan: The life and internet afterlife of a Tibetan wedding photoshoot**

Jing Wang

On April 5th of 2015, Kesang Phüntsog, an ethnic Tibetan living in Chengdu, posted the wedding photos of he and his bride Dawa Drölma on his personal Wechat account and the photos suddenly went viral. The post, titled Life ahead with belief, dream and love: the Unconventional wedding photos of a post-1980's Tibetan couple, presents like a storybook, with picture-perfect images depicting the photogenic couple's fashionable urban lifestyle and the idyllic nomadic life of their Tibetan heritage. Together with captions, these photos supposedly tell a story of the couple's love and life, with which the groom intended to convey two messages. One is to dispel the stereotypes of Tibetans as a timeless people - "I hope the photos to show that Tibetan youth are just like any other young people chasing their dreams in a big city, regardless their ethnicities," through using contrasting images representing the couple's "modern" and "traditional" ways of life as well as their seamless and deft transitioning between the two, symbolizing a hybrid modern identity, a potential future for Tibetans as imagined by Tibetans. The second is to counter materialism through the narrative in the photos how they are not satisfied with all the pleasures that money can buy them in the city and in the end have to resort to religion to obtain inner peace. However, these photos failed to incite such a sentiment among Han Chinese netizens, who far outnumber Tibetan netizens and are mainly responsible for the reportedly half a billion retweets that soon followed on Wechat, currently the most popular social/messaging platform in China. Rather, the Han viewers conveniently dismissed the "modern" images in the photographs, marveling instead at the artistic portrayal of the couple's "traditional" life, such as their ragged but impressively beautiful long sheepskin cloaks, their milking cows or prostrating before holy sites, and their cosmetically darkened skin and red cheekbones. In deploying such well known symbols, these photos inadvertently participate in the creation, maintenance, and reinforcement of the stereotype of Shangri-La and Chinese fascination about Tibet – the last pure land with beautiful blue sky, jade like lakes, and snow-capped mountains, as well as with Tibetans - a timeless people who are devoutly religious, happy-go-lucky and peaceful. The Han viewers' receptiveness to the "traditional" images of the couple fits well in with a general trend dubbed Tibet Fever, which has been going on in China for some years and has been greatly boosted since 2006, when the Qinghai-Tibet railway was built and Tibet has become much more accessible. Moreover, Tibet Fever does not merely mean the increasing number of tourists traveling to Tibet, instead it also refers to the phenomenon of making Tibet into

a Shangri-la, a lost paradise for many Han Chinese, who project their nostalgic sentiments of a lost past into Tibet, where the full forces of modernization have not yet reached. Conversely, among Tibetan viewers, these photos fared a little better and indeed ignited some voices debating the meaning of a "modern" identity for the Tibetans. But still the Tibetan debate was overshadowed by the viral popularity of the photos. So far the most critical view was offered by Wöser, a Tibetan writer and a human rights watcher, in her sarcastically titled blog: A So Told Authentic Happy Story of "Modern Tibetans." Her main criticism is that the couple are at best Sinicized Tibetans and their nostalgia, an internalization of Han Chinese sentiments, is incredibly mawkish and frivolous. Additionally, the overly rosy picture of "modern" life of the Tibetan couple depicted in the photos is completely out of reach for average Tibetans. She specifically pointed out that the couple's trip abroad in the photos seems like a joke as passport application is strictly controlled in Tibet. However, Wöser's sentiments are not shared are not shared by average Tibetans, for whom, what depicted in the photos is how they live their life, though not as dramatic as in the photos – oscillating between the urban/modern and rural/traditional life and thus hardly raise any curiosity among them, not to mention the need to discuss about it. Thus, this paper first traces how the Tibetan couple's wedding photos went viral at a time when wedding photography has become such a banal ritual. Then it analyzes the process and mechanisms by which the intended messages of the photos were lost. Finally, it explores how a modern identity for the Tibetans is imagined and contested.

**Tibetan women in exile: an analysis of contested gendre roles.**

Dechen Wangmo

The introduction of internet and social media has brought fundamental changes in daily communication styles, and with that revolutionized our sources of information. Majority of Tibetan diaspora population is using internet as a medium of communication. This is what has been going on for the past few years in the Tibetan community on the topic of women. Although there have been a few discussions on the Tibetan women in the initial stages of exile, there was a lack of diversity of representation in those discussions. Today, internet is facilitating a horizontal platform in which a large number of people can participate in any discussion. However, with its exceptional advantages there is also a downside, such as its lack accountability in many of those discussions. Still, internet has remained a powerful means through which people can share their opinions, debate about it and try to convince others on their part. Moreover, it can be a very important source of information to study gender relations within the Tibetan community. This paper is focused on the Tibetan diaspora community in the virtual world. In her article, "The Meaning of Liberation: Representations of Tibetan Women", Charlene Makley writes about how the representation of Tibetan women in the various accounts are ambivalent mainly due to the complexity and peculiarity of traditional social arrangements, values and roles of Buddhism and varied kinship arrangements in the Tibetan society which affect women. Thus, in her article, "Moving Towards a Sociology of Tibet", Barbara Nimri Aziz suggested that the accounts of Tibetan women through autobiographies, biographies could be very helpful for scholars to get a better picture of Tibetan women. Although this paper does not aim to present autobiographical or biographical accounts of Tibetan women, it will look into interviews, statements, articles, opinions found in online, including social media, by Tibetan women across the globe, for instance, the popular opinion site, "Phayul", an online news website in English, which has published views from Tibetan women and men regarding women's issues, women's policy and women's rights etc. It also has a comment section which has interesting coontributions either supporting or challenging those opinions. Another website in English that has recently gained popularity among the younger Tibetans, viz. "Feminist Collective", run by a group of young educated Tibetan women in the West. They publish women's views and opinions on their webpage, trying to bring gender issues into discussion. Their website includes publishing an open letter to Tsering Kyi, former Miss Tibet, on her negative remark on feminism and Tibetan feminist groups. Another source could be the websites in Tibetan which will also be undertaken in the

study to study opinions written in Tibetan, such as "Changsa", a website which is an important source to various opinions on the women. More than a matrimonial site it has its own column for erotic essays which talks about various topic related to women. Hence, the debates on gender and Tibetan women remain quite active in virtual media, but does not seem to have received any academic interest so far. The limitation of these discussions is that they leave out the other section of society – those who are uneducated, elderly, and those who do not feel entitled to express their views through these means. Another limitation is that the information in these sources could lack accountability and appear to be fragmented. Still, these discussions are quite important as they constitute a new phenomenon in the Tibetan community and may have an influence on the Tibetan society to a great extent. And in an attempt to give justice to the views of the under-represented section of women, this paper will include personal interviews with those women on their understanding of Tibetan women in the Tibetan community. While talking about gender relation and women's issues, men's opinion is also very crucial to include in the discussion. Moreover, Tibetan men are more active and open in the digital media in expressing their views, therefore I will take their views into consideration. Thus, the whole paper largely revolves around the sources found in the virtual community.

**Was it in Zanskar that the Tibetan Translator Mar pa met the Indian Buddhist Nāropā?**

Atsuko Watanabe

The famous Tibetan translator of Indian Buddhist writings, Mar pa cho kyi blo gros (1002-1097), visited Nepal and India during the Second Buddhist missonary period (Phyi dar), and though he did not receive help from the Tibetan government, he studied Buddhism, especially Tantric Buddhism. After that, while practicing those teachings, he translated and transmitted them, teaching them to disciples. His four main disciples have been compared to four props, of whom Mi la ras pa (1040-1123) is the most important and still revealed in Tibet. Unlike his teacher, Mi la ras pa did not visit Nepal or India. He spent all his time meditating on the teachings transmitted from Mar pa. He did not study under many teachers outside of Mar pa. Mi la ras pa respected Mar pa as a most precious teacher. In contrast, according to one story, Mar pa studied under one hundred and eight teachers. Of those many teachers, the most important were the Indian Buddhists Nāropā and Maitrīpāda (1007-1085). The Kha brgyud pa school of Tibetan Buddhism traces its lineage back to the Indian Tilopa (988–1069) and from him to Nāropā, then to Mar pa, who transmitted it to Tibet, and on to Mi la ras pa and Gam po pa (1079–1153), and so on until today. Mar pa is said to have visited India three times. In those days, in order to receive the teachings, one needed gold, so on his first visit, Mar pa changed all his family property into gold in order to get the teachings. On his second visit, Mar pa converted the offerings from donors who heard his preaching into gold. The purpose of his third visit to India, according to the biography of Mar pa written by gTsang smyon he ru ka (1452-1507), was to receive one of the Nāropā's six teachings, the Grong 'jug, which teaches the transference of consciousness into another body. On this trip, he searched high and low, but since Nāropā was in retreat, Mar pa had trouble finding him. He had to travel all over India before finally meeting Nāropā at "Phulahari." Then, where is Phulahari situated? In this paper I want to examine the possibility that Phulahari is Zanskar. Zanskar, where most of the population are followers of Tibetan Buddhism, is located in northern India, near from the border with Pakistan, and surrounded by high mountains with glaciers. The mountain roads are covered with snow almost half of the year. People cannot enter or leave: Zanskar is such a hard and remote place. But, because of its isolated environment, the old Tibetan culture is still alive there. East of the central town of Pudom in Zanskar lies the sTong sde monastery. Although at present this monastery belongs to the dGe lugs pa sect, originally Mar pa built it as a Kha brgyud pa monastery at the top of a small mountain. Just under it, there is a village called sTong sde village. In the summer time the area turns green with the

young barley fields. When Mar pa visited, however, sTong sde village was surrounded with water and Mar pa came by boat. Still now, monks keep a cloth as a memory of Mar pa's visit and show this treasure to people once a year. People also say that Mar pa's footprint remains, but that the nuns who live in the nearby nunnery located down the mountainside from sTong sde monastery hid it, so no one can see it. It is said also said that Nāropā meditated at other places in Zansker, like Sa ni monastery and dZong khul monastery. Many people continue to visit these holy places on pilgrimages. These facts illustrate just how important Zansker is for the Kha brGyud pa sect. It is also important to the sNyin ma pa sect, because their mentor Padmasaṃbhava visited the area to do meditation. Indeed the Kha brgyud pa sect and sNying ma pa sect are very close to each other and sometimes referred to by the combined name of Kha snying. In addition, there is a possibility that Zanskar is a link connecting these to the Rig med movement today. In this paper I will examine the probability of Zansker being the place where Mar pa met Nāropā through investigating the history of sTong sde monastery augumented by interviews with local people.

**The 'Consort-Observance' (vidyāvrata) in Tibetan Guhyasamāja Commentaries**

Christian K. Wedemeyer

Following up on previous investigations made into the range of approaches to the exegesis of the fifth chapter of the Guhyasamāja Tantra by early Tibetan commentators (presented at 2013 IATS), this paper explores how the issue of the vidyāvrata (brtul zhugs spyod pa) was treated by a broader range of Tibetan authors. The analysis draws on commentaries by Bu ston Rin chen grub, Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros, Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, and Srad brgyud pa Brtson 'grus 'phags, in addition to those of Mi bskyod rdo rje and Rong ston Shes bya kun rig. Their works will be explored for their distinctive voices and their shared perspectives, and will be further compared with Indian and Tibetan predecessors as well as other Tibetan scholastic materials that shed light on this issue, such as the Guhyasamāja writings of 'Gos Khug pa Lhas btsas.

**"History Is Still a Sensitive Question:" Memory, Unity and Advocacy in the Qinghai *Wenshi Ziliao***

Benno Weiner

Wenshi Ziliao (Tib. rig gnas dang lo rgyus ki dpyad yig), literally "cultural and historical materials," is possibly a unique form of state-sponsored historical reconstruction. Geographically, administratively and often thematically organized collections of testimonials published in irregular serial editions, from their 1959 inception wenshi ziliao were intended as a means to break the monopoly of the pre-1949 bureaucratic and cultural elite over historical production. However, they are in no sense a subaltern or post-modern production. Grouping them within a cluster of state-directed practices he refers to as the "socialist Chinese regime of oral history, " Uradyn Bulag argues that wenshi ziliao should be thought of as a "technology of power" through which both the authors and their subjects are "disciplined, performing a subjectivity dictated by a greater force, the CCP." Yet, within carefully prescribed boundaries wenshi ziliao also allow avenues for those in charge of their local production to advance particular visions of the past and in doing so make claims about the present. In this paper I examine provincial and prefectural wenshi ziliao from Qinghai Province (Amdo). Concentrating primarily on volumes produced in the 1980s and 1990s, I investigate ways in which authors and editors, many of whom were locally prominent figures in the 1950s, frame the "early liberation period" that preceded the 1958 Amdo Rebellion. I argue that in resurrecting this relatively moderate period of ethnic conciliation, the protagonists are not only burnishing their own legacies but also promoting policy recommendations for the late-socialist period. While the focus is on Tibetans, I also look at the regions' other "minority nationalities," in particular Amdo's Muslim communities, and the paradigm of "nationality unity" more generally.

**Buddhism a Unique Selling Point (USP): The branding and marketing of spiritual tourism in Ladakh**

Elizabeth Williams-Oerberg

In the Indian Himalayan region of Ladakh, Buddhism has been promoted as a Unique Selling Point (USP) by government officials in the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council order to stimulate increased spiritual tourism in the region. A significant amount of money and materials have been invested in building Buddhist monuments, not to mention guesthouses and hotels, with the aim of attracting foreign and domestic tourists to the region and thereby stimulating economic activity. This paper will examine how the region of Ladakh has been marketed as a spiritual tourism destination, positioning Buddhism as an inherent aspect of the landscape and people. Buddhism in this way has become a Ladakhi brand – something which is essentially Ladakhi - and when sanctioned as such provides a lucrative means towards not only gaining economic capital, but also social, cultural, spiritual and moral capital as well. The branding and commodification of Buddhism in Ladakh has in this way been furthered in order to stimulate economic development in the region, and for many Ladakhis this is not understood to be inconsistent with a presumed anti-materialistic stance of Buddhism, but rather as an important strategy to promote the survival of Himalayan Buddhism in Ladakh, especially under the perceived threat of being a religious minority in the Jammu and Kashmir state and Indian nation. Thus, rather than understanding the branding and marketization of Buddhism as debasement and inauthentic, the commodification of Buddhism in many ways has helped to secure the survival of Buddhism in the region, along with what is understood to be added value to local religious goods, ideas and lifestyles.

**Design of domestic dwellings in the Tibetan cultural region. Historic forms and their contemporary transformations.**

Anna Wozniak

This paper discusses domestic architecture in Tibetan farming and mixed agro pastoral communities inhabiting selected regions of the Tibetan plateau located in Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. The four counties discussed, namely Dege, Garze, Luhou and Dawu County, are characterized by a particular mixture of environmental conditions and availability of certain building materials. On the one hand local forms of architecture are influenced by the availability of particular types of gravelly loams suitable for rammed earth construction. On the other hand the availability of timber in this areas, mainly pine and fir, provides the local population with a very versatile widely used construction material. Although the four localities have much in common, forms of architecture which developed there exhibit significant differences. The author discusses possible reasons for these differences analyzing their construction and architectural designs. She also investigates to what degree the traditional forms of residential architecture are adaptable to modern living requirements. Questioning why in some of the studied localities the degree of transformations is higher then in others. Another question raised concerns forms of community life and social organization in these localities which support certain construction methods. Why are some materials still applied for the construction of housing and others abandoned in the contemporary context and how does this relate to the current economic development of the localities? This paper is based on the authors unique field research conducted between 2014 and now on residential architecture. It will be complemented with very new material coming from the most recent part of the research that the author will conduct in spring 2016. During the research the author not only gathered documentation but conducted detailed building surveys. The building surveys include the measurements of all the building's individual elements. These measurements were transformed into technical scale drawings that illustrate the buildings floor plans, sections and elevations in great detail. The drawings will be a significant supplement in the author`s paper. The authors work in the Tibetan cultural region goes back to research experience gathered during her work with André Alexander from 2008 to 2011. Thereby the practical work with Tibetan master masons and carpenters on several projects has provided her with significant understanding of local architecture. Currently she carries out a DFG funded research project at Technische Universität Berlin on Himalayan vernacular architecture, jointly with Prof. Dr. Peter Herrle. The project documents and analyzes traditional

architectural forms of dwellings and settlements across the entire Tibetan cultural realm in a cross country approach.

## "A mask tells us more than a face". – Observations on contemporary Bhutanese mask dances facing the outer world

Mareike Wulff

This paper examines contemporary Bhutanese Buddhist mask dances ('cham) understood as a substantial part of material and visual culture in Bhutan. It asks what kind of message is transmitted through its visual aspects, and to which recipients, with reference to very recent developments in Bhutan. I discuss the potential ability of masked dances to convey messages that are shifting over the course of time, including attempts to represent Bhutan as a unique part of the Himalayan region. As is already documented, Buddhist masked dances in Bhutan are performed throughout the year in multiple social and religious contexts, ranging from small-scale familial events in private households conducted by lay persons, to events staged in large part for the benefit of foreign tourists and national level festivals and rites open to the entire public and regularly televised. It is obvious that masked dance acts as transmission medium for knowledge and information (Pommaret, 2007), including religious teachings, morals and historiographical narratives. The pre-modern state already began public stagings of masked dances in the 17th century (Ardussi, 2008), and this type of interest on the part of Bhutan's rules continued to develop strongly from the late 20th century until today. The Third King of Bhutan, Jigme Dorje Wangchuck, started collecting mask dance traditions with both Buddhist and secular origins from remote parts of the country. In the 1960's, he formed the official 'Royal Academy of Performing Arts' (RAPA). RAPA then redistributed this collection of mask dances to the state monasteries (Dzongs) all over the country where they are performed annually to the present day. Thus, masked dances came to play a role in promoting a new self-image of the country internally, created a unique Bhutanese characteristic to distinguish itself from the neighbouring Buddhist cultural traditions like Tibet, but also developed a flagship for 'Bhutanese-ness' towards the outside world that furthers tourism. This remains an ongoing process, with a large and newly designed state mask dance event – the Dochula Druk Wangyal Festival – being staged under the patronage of the Queen Mother Ashi Dorji Wangmo Wangchuk for the first time in December 2011. Nowadays labelled as 'tangible and intangible cultural heritage', Bhutanese mask dances have gained much attention from international organisations and national institutions in the past few years, but

particularly in the form of various large-scale documentation projects and attempts to 'preserve' the dances. In relation to these developments, some of the questions I raise include: Is there a focus on specific mask dances? Which are the mask dance performances that are widely known outside of Bhutan and through which media are they promoted? Which messages and knowledge about Bhutan do they carry? What kind of picture of Bhutan is communicated? The findings/observations I present are an aspect of my doctoral dissertation on a rural Bhutanese mask dance festival, and for which I conducted field research in Bhutan for total of 14 months during 2011/12 and 2013.

**Dietary and behavioral recommendations during pregnancy according to Tibetan medicine**

Isabella Würthner

This paper deals with dietary and behavioral recommendations during pregnancy in the rGyud bzhi (the Four Treatises), the basic work of Tibetan medicine. Female disorders (mo nad) are mainly explained within four chapters of the Third Treatise, the Oral Instruction Treatise (Man ngag rgyud). These are chapter 43 – the healing of disorders of the female genital organs (mo mtshan gyi nad gso ba), chapter 74 – general gynecological disorders (mo nad gtso bo spyi), chapter 75 – specific gynecological disorders (mo nad bye brag) and chapter 76 – common gynecological disorders (mo nad phal ba). Gynecological diseases are seen to be caused by negative karma, unsuitable diet and behavior, as well as by the influence of demons. Based on my critical translation of these four chapters which is the first so far, my research concentrates on an analysis of the dietary and behavioral recommendations during pregnancy in the rGyud bzhi, as well as in selected commentaries and modern literature. As it is well known general recommendations concerning this topic are presented in the bShad rgyud (Explanatory Treatise) of the Four Treatises. Specific recommendations thereof are explained in the chapter on common gynecological disorders of the Man ngag rgyud. Eight disorders related to pregnancy are described in there. Starting with the signs of pregnancy, the text continues with recommendations of diet and behaviour in order to avoid and remove any base for disease. After elucidating different pregnancy related disorders, the chapter goes on with advices related to the prevention of post-delivery disorders. Till now Tibetan doctors consult relevant commentaries such as the Vaiḍūrya sngon po by sde srid –Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, the regent of the 5th Dalai Lama (17th century) and the Gso rig rgyu bzhi'i 'grel chen drang srong zhal lung by Khro ru tshe rnam (20th century). Beside these two works, the 'Bum bzhi by dPyad bu khri shes, which is the main work of Bon medicine is also included in this research. Furthermore, a very valuable modern contribution regarding this topic is sBrum ma'i 'phrod bsten dang byis pa nyer spyod skor gyi shes bya by sman rams pa Padma rDo rje. Thereof chapter nine dietary and behavioral recommendations for pregnant women (sbrum ma'i zas spod spang blang) is the major chapter for this study. It is well known that a mother's lifestyle and diet will have a direct impact on her baby immediately. According to Tibetan medicine, from the thirteenth week of pregnancy the essence of the mother's food and drink passes into the child through the umbilical cord. Since a balanced body is important already before conception, this paper will briefly explain what it means to have a balanced body. Then I will shortly introduce the three main constitution types

*rlung* (generally translated as 'wind'), *mkhris pa* ('bile') and *bad kan* ('phlegm'). These are the three *nyes pa*s which can be translated i.a. as humours or afflictions. The *nyes pa* are permanent constituents of the body, which ensure the maintenance of life. Just the imbalance of one or more *nyes pa* causes disease. The substances of which the body is made up of, as well as the substances that are taken as nourishment are essentially of the same nature. Therefore, the parents – especially the woman – should know which *nyes pa* is predominating in their bodies and how they can get balanced since it is essential for the proper physical and mental formation of the developing child. According to the personal physician of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, Dr. Tsewang Tamdin, seventy-five percent of the health of the mother and twenty-five percent of the health of the father will contribute to the proper development of the child. The dietary recommendations for people with each of these *nyes pa* will be given. From the moment the foetus is developing in the mother's womb, the food she eats and the lifestyle she chooses is already having a powerful influence on the unborn child. The philological research will be complemented by the opinions and practical experience of Tibetan and Bon doctors gained through oral interviews. The aim thereof is not just to extend the medical vocabulary, but also to provide a basis for further research.

**Between Sacred and Secular —An analysis of History of the Tar Monastery**

Xu Yan

The Tar Monastery is located in Huangzhong County of Qinghai Province. Because it is the birthplace of Tsongkhapa, it's renowned worldwide, and reputed as the second Lumbini Garden. This paper places the Tar Monastery on the track of social and historical development, traces the whole process of Tar Monastery's development, attempts to find how the Tar Monastery has transformed from a initial Poly lotus pagoda into a Tibetan Buddhist shrine, and then developed into a comprehensive institute of Tibetan Buddhism, Buddhist cultural center, tourist destination, and social organization, and to discuss the reasons for this process and main adjustment strategies that the Tar Monastery adopted according to the different social situations, so as to help the Tar Monastery have a brighter prospect. It can be said that the process of the Tar Monastery's development history can be divided into two major stages: from secular to sacred, and then from sacred to secular. In the first stage, the Tar Monastery transformed from a initial poly lotus pagoda into a Tibetan Buddhist shrine. The reasons for this are as follows: Firstly, the Tar Monastery is the birthplace of Tsongkhapa; Secondly, the Tar Monastery is one of the six great monasteries of Gelugpa; Thirdly, the Tar Monastery is the hub of Sino-Tibetan golden bridge. The second stage of the Tar Monastery's development history is "from sacred to secular". In this part, I mainly talk about the reason for the transformation and the adaptation strategies adopted. I think the reasons for this process are the changes of the policies, and the influences of modernization: "The changes of the policies." Before liberation, the Tar Monastery's most important economic source was the business of land. But after the democratic reform movement in 1958, the Tar Monastery abolished religious privileges, destroyed the old centralized system, eliminated the exploitative economy which based on the feudal land ownership, and the "the combination of religion and politics" system had been disintegrated, which means the end of the religious despotism and the advent of the religious freedom era. "The influences of modernization." In the past, if one of the Tibetan family members became a monk, this family would be admired just like someone becoming an important leaders in Han family. However, after 1980s, China's social development was on the road of modernization, and there has appeared all levels of social transformation. The surrounding believers of the Tar Monastery have been involved in the trend of modernization, increasingly concerned about the commercial activities, and the time they spent on religious life has been greatly reduced, which finally leads to the emergency of religious privatization, the reduction of the religious

belief, and so on. Therefore, the external support was reduced drastically, and the Tar Monastery had to develop on its own. As for the adaptation strategies adopted by the Tar Monastery, there are mainly four aspects : the first one is complying with policy oriented, carrying out reformation; the second one is developing tourism economy, creating brand culture; the third one is implementing new education and improving the monks' quality; the last one is participating in social affairs, expanding the Monastery's influence. Tracing the whole process of Tar Monastery's development, we can see that jumping between the sacred and the secular world constantly is a kind of adjustment strategies of the Tar Monastery to adapt itself to the social changes. "Becoming holy due to the Buddha and developing relying on politics" is the initial developmental pattern of the Tar Monastery. However, it is not static. With the change of political environment and the tide of modernization, the Tar Monastery has adjusted its developmental pattern, through reformation, developing tourism, implementing new education, participating in social affairs… … then the Tar Monastery transformed itself into a comprehensive institute of Tibetan Buddhism, Buddhist cultural center, tourist destination, and social organization, so as to conform to the development of the society, to achieve its sustainable and stable development. It can be found that the development of the Tar Monastery is a result of a long-term historical process, declaring a new era of religion which can adapt itself to social changes, showing that every monastery should adjust itself to different social environment and external factors constantly. Only in this way, can it get new life from ongoing regeneracy.

**Touristification of Barkor – the plan and its implementation**.

Tenzin Dolkar (Danzeng Zhuoga)

This paper will discuss the touristification or 'heritagification' process in the Barkor based on personal observation and fieldwork in 2014 and 2015 in Lhasa. The World Heritage List aims at the preservation of world cultural diversity but also sets up criteria for a world heritage to be qualified for the list. In this case the management of the Barkor is framed by a world heritage perspective which may differ from religious perspectives. In 2000, the report of the 24th Session of the World Heritage Committee stated: The Jokhang Temple Monastery is an exceptional Buddhists religious complex, founded in 7th century. Its building and decoration reflect the high quality of Tibetan art in the 7th century and the 15th-16th century, and also demonstrate cultural interchange between Tibet and its neighboring countries. Through its designation on the World Heritage list, Barkor, being the area surrounding the Jokhang, has become a tourist destination. How this has taken place and how local culture has been utilized as a heritage product for the purpose of tourism is the theme of this paper. The main data comes from semi-structured interviews with locals who are business people (many of them from Kham and other provinces like Qinghai and Yunnan), local residents, monks and nuns, tour guides, and local experts who are specialized in history, religion, geography and tourism. Through the interviews, I have tried to understand how the Barkor has been presented as a tourist attraction. As in all other parts of China, economic development has become the main target for the Tibet Autonomous Region. Starting in the early 1980s, encouraged by the central government and benefitting from the interest of international tourists in the region and its history and culture, tourists started to come to TAR. Gradually domestic tourists have become the major category of tourists due to the overall economic growth in China and the opening of the Qinghai–Tibet railway. Tourism has now become one of the three pillar industries in TAR. The Jokhang was designated a World Heritage in 2000, and in same year the Barkor became one of the ten 'ancient streets' in China. This has paved the way for tourism promotion in future development. World heritage status means that the site should be presented to tourists from all over the world ('world heritage is for world residents') and not only to Buddhist pilgrims. The official statistic show that the temple receives 5000 tourists every day, and the actual number of tourists coming to the temple is in fact even greater. The status of the Jokhang as a World Heritage site and as a domestic 'four star tourism destination' has made it a prime tourism destination. The result, however, is that having become a World Heritage, it is transformed into a tourism product and undergoes

'touristification' and 'heritagification'. These processes can be seen from the visible transformation of the site; decoration that qualifies it as a tourism destination; preservation of the buildings aims to present it as a heritage site; the local shops are converted into tourism souvenir shops; and the local pilgrimages become performers when they perform their daily rituals; the Barkor religious narratives are replaced by guide commentaries. The presentation of the Barkor is gradually changing from that of a traditional Buddhism-oriented place to a world tourist destination, based on its landscape and narratives. The tourist's interaction with local people becomes part of the daily life of the people who are living and working in the area and has formed a new culture which is different from traditional ways. The Jokhang was designated a World Heritage in 2000, and in same year the Barkor became one of the ten 'ancient streets' in China. This has paved the way for tourism promotion in future development. World heritage status means that the site should be presented to tourists from all over the world ('world heritage is for world residents') and not only to Buddhist pilgrims. The official statistic show that the temple receives 5000 tourists every day, and the actual number of tourists coming to the temple is in fact even greater. The status of the Jokhang as a World Heritage site and as a domestic 'four star tourism destination' has made it a prime tourism destination. The result, however, is that having become a World Heritage, it is transformed into a tourism product and undergoes 'touristification' and 'heritagification'. These processes can be seen from the visible transformation of the site; decoration that qualifies it as a tourism destination; preservation of the buildings aims to present it as a heritage site; the local shops are converted into tourism souvenir shops; and the local pilgrimages become performers when they perform their daily rituals; the Barkor religious narratives are replaced by guide commentaries. The presentation of the Barkor is gradually changing from that of a traditional Buddhism-oriented place to a world tourist destination, based on its landscape and narratives. The tourist's interaction with local people becomes part of the daily life of the people who are living and working in the area and has formed a new culture which is different from traditional ways. Jokhang is designated as a world heritage from its architecture and art, as the original world heritage criterion which is considered in the notion of heritage 1 and from the perspective of heritage 2, related development and management of the place have come to reality, and I argue that through these two elements, the intangible culture heritage has been destroyed. Shepherd says for the lack of international criteria for an intangible heritage, it is difficult to study intangible heritage. However, through tourisitification or heritagification of a religious site, the intangible culture heritage of the place decreases and in this case leads to undermining social stability.

**Role of Tibetan Sacred Natural Sites in Biodiversity Conservation: Understanding Tiibetan attitudes towards Sacred Natural Sites in the Gador Jowo Sacred Mountains in the Sanjiangyuan National Nauture Reserve**

Awang Jigmey

Sacred Natural Sites (SNSs) are "land or water having spiritual significance to some communities and people. Sacred Natural Sites vary in their size and are widespread globally. In recent years, contribution of the Sacred Natural Sites (SNSs) to biodiversity conservation has been recognized by conservationists and ecologists, in terms of rare species only existed in the SNSs as their habitats and how local people have been protecting species within the SNSs. Formulation of the guidelines for conservation and management of the SNSs by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) represent a major milestone in recognizing the biological and cultural importance of the SNSs (UNESCO 2008). Also it is listed in the seven categories of Protected Area (PA) in terms of how sacred natural sites have protected species. In addition, it has been demonstrated in other parts of the world that SNSs cover a wide range of habitats and landscapes and are often located in biodiversity rich areas. Some would go as far to say SNSs are the oldest form of protected areas. In Tibetan areas, each tribe and village has its own sacred natural sites, but forms of sacred natural sites are various, these forms include mountains or hills, springs, lakes, back and front of monasteries. Spatial scales and history of SNSs are various. There have been few studies addressing sacred natural sites, and research trends have shifted a little in recent years from ethnological to ecological perspectives. Mostly these studies have focused in Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture and around Kawa Gapo Mountain in Dechin Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture on the eastern Tibetan Plateau. This study site is Gado Jowo Sacred Mountain, which is situated in Yushu Tibetan Antonomous Prefecture, in the center of the Tibetan Plateau. We choose this site because its geographic location that has been providing ecological services, especially hydro services, to people living there and people from its downstream, and its important role in the local culture and history. Promoting ecological value of sacred natural sits through such study is another reason that we aimed for, which could facilitate to protect culturally important sacred sites and species within these areas, since environmental issues (mining and garbage pollution) are occurring in the areas of this region. In order to understand role of Gado Jowo Sacred Mountain in biodiversity conservation and how belief of Sacred Mountain facilitates to

sustain ecological services in the region, we examined how local people's attitudes and behavior towards species differ within and outside of sacred natural sites under current socio-economic pressures, how it is different and changes occurring with the sacred natural sites are also discussed. More specifically, one representative of three families of species (carnivores, herbivores and plants) was selected. Selection was based on those species that have been utilized by local people or have been the subject of conflicts as both factors are known to result in changes in human's attitude and behavior toward a given species. Also some pertinent issues related to sacred natural sites are discussed. A mixed approach (questionnaire and semi-structured interview) was applied in the field to explore the targeted topic. It would appear that most respondents' attitude and behavior differed toward each selected species in sacred natural sites. They respected more species that has been living within the SNSs, and less respect is paid to the species that are outside of the SNS. Furthermore, both Buddhist monks and lay people play an important role in biodiversity conservation of sacred natural sites and in limiting the over-utilization of natural resources on the basis of differing perspectives and beliefs. There are however newly emerging challenges, mostly posed by the economic incentives, such as selling of caterpillar fungus that are dug in the sacred natural sites, which not only threatened traditional culture, also created negative impacts on the local biodiversity in the region. Some recommendations for management of the SNSs are developed for its future management, presumably, which could help to avoid destruction actions to the SNSs. Forms of community - conserved areas and natural heritage sites are highly recommended that will help to gain recognition under government law for its long – term protection as exemplifying similar cases from other countries.

**Economic Development and Merit Accumulation: Recent Changes in Tibetan Pre-Death Ritual (gson chos) in Gling rgya Village, Reb gong**

Chaksam Tsering

Economy admittedly plays important roles to religious practice as economic development may affect various changes in the performance of rituals. The focus of the proposed paper is the entanglement between the practice of pre-death ritual (gson chos) and economic development in Gling rgya village in Reb gong. In my paper, I will in particular disentangle two developments involving economy and religious ritual: (1) that of the economic motivations but also problems behind the ritual, and (2) the

connection between economic growth and the transformation of the ritual practice itself. The tradition of pre-death ritual is only found in some of the villages in Reb gong, Amdo, and is performed for the elderly, who are in their late sixties or seventies. The ritual is one of the biggest and most important rituals that are practiced for individuals in Gling rgya village. The pre-death ritual consists of four to five days of large feastings and scripture recitations. Each day there is a new feast, which requires more people in the village to participate in both assistance and consumption. On one hand, by means of food charities and religious chanting the ritual is performed in order to accumulate merit for the elderly person. Merit accumulation serves as a comfort for the elderly in that it can decrease the fear of death and serve as a preparation for the next life. On the other hand, unexpected deaths and great funeral expenditures are a burden on impoverished families, who are unable to afford after-death rituals. If they have already had pre-death rituals performed, ideally they do not have to spend large amounts on a later funeral. My research has disclosed big differences in expenses between the general funerals and the funerals with pre-death rituals in advance, and we can therefore say that the ritual serves as a preparation for funerals and as a prevention for financial problems of the family when a death occurs. Traditional customs in Tibetan cultural areas of mTsho sngon Province in China have been changing dramatically due to economic, educational, social and cultural factors. This pre-death ritual tradition is not an exception. Traditional customs are affected by, and adapted to, the social and cultural changes that have taken place since 1980. Many elements of the pre-death ritual have changed, including its reason and meaning. In my paper, I will discuss in-depth the economic growth of the community and its effect on ongoing changes in performing the ritual. I will argue that the transformations, which my research has revealed, are connected to economic growth and modernization: the ritual itself has undergone a form of secularization, and furthermore; the expense of the ritual has increased to such an extent that it has become a huge financial challenge for some families. In fact, it has become competitive among some families to increase ritual expenses, which in consequence has also increased the conflict potential: While some village groups have recognized the need to establish rules to limit the increase of expenses, certain families, mostly the wealthy, resist such rules. This is a part of my PhD project at the University Oslo which mainly focuses on religious beliefs and practices related to Tibetan pre-death ritual in Gling rgya village in Reb gong. My research extends to include how and why pre-death ritual is practiced, the influences of the ritual on practitioners, and how pre-death ritual practices and perspectives among the performers are being transformed by contemporary social and economic changes. My research grounds on

empirical data collected through my nine months of fieldwork in Reb gong, complemented with the study of relevant textual material. Interview, participant observation, and visual documents are implied as the main research methods.

**Hail protection, territorial deities, and the religious authority of tantric practitioners in Reb gong, A mdo**

Nyingbo-Gyal

The proposed paper investigates the hail aversion rituals in Phye dri, an agricultural village in Reb gong, A mdo, northeastern Tibet. Atmospheric disasters such as hailstorms, floods, and snowstorms are frequently believed to be caused by territorial deities who have been annoyed or contravened. Divinities of this kind therefore play significant roles among the local communities, and various rituals to appease them are widely performed by the devotees. These rituals for manipulating the weather, in general, and avoiding hailstorms, in particular, require involvements of various religious specialists and the invocation of a number of deities. All deities that are associated with hail belong to a category of so-called worldly deities ('jig rten pa'i lha), which is a comparatively low ranking deity group. Deities or Dharma protectors (chos skyong), who have higher rank, are believed to be able to subdue those deities who cause hail. The rNying ma tradition is majorly practiced in Phye dri, and protection against hail is one of the main obligations of tantric practitioners (sngags pa), and they are therefore also frequently referred to as 'hail stoppers' (ser 'gog). In order to become a proficient hail defender, the tantric practitioners need an empowerment ritual (dbang) named 'the life-force empowerment of the eight classes' (sde brgyad srog dbang) from a lineage lama. However, lamas are often unwilling to confer such empowerments, because hail protection rituals are believed to harm the deities involved in hailstorms and therefore considered as non-virtuous deeds (sdig pa). Phye dri village is located at the foot of A myes sTag lung mountain, located opposite Rong bo Monastery, the largest dGe lugs monastery in the region. The mountain's supernatural ruler, also known as A myes sTag lung, is the guardian deity for the surrounding villages. Local people in Phye dri believe that hail is a means of "taxation" by the local deities. The villagers believe that they are under the protection of these deities and therefore owe the deities an annual tax. Local folk tales tell about how this tax is levied by means of destroying the ripe crops with hail. A myes sTag lung plays a dual role, as he is both believed to be responsible for levying the tax, but if properly appeased he can also protect the villagers by withholding

the hailstorms. Based on information collected through interviews and observations during a number of visits to the field, supplemented by the reading of relevant ritual texts, this paper will describe and analyse the particular type of ritual practice known as ser tho. The ser tho ritual involves the construction of a male human figure handcrafted of tree branches and harnessed with wooden weapons such as an arrow and a bow, a sword, a vajra (rdo rje), or a ritual dagger (phur bu). Having been crafted, blessed, and consecrated by religious specialists, Gu ru Drag dmar 'Wrathful-red Padmasambhava' is believed to be embodied in ser tho, thus the effigy is effective in protecting crops from hailstorms during the cropping season. Although the term ser tho may be translated as 'hail cairn,' here ser tho is better translated as 'hail effigy', due to its anthropomorphic feature. The analytical focus will be on illuminating the interrelations between religious specialists, worshipped deities (both tantric and local), and ordinary villagers. The paper will discuss how ritual practices related to local deities are adapted and negotiated within a larger Buddhist cosmology. I will investigate the roles of the involved agents and how the local deities, who are subjects to be bound by Buddhist vows, are beseeched to fulfill the devotees' wishes in serving the contemporary society. Finally, I will discuss how tantric practitioners and linage lamas invoke the authority of heroic figures such as Padmasambhava through the avenues of empowerment and transmission (*dbang lung*), and how this tradition is articulated and inherited by new generations.

**Systematic classification of pastoral vocabulary in the nomadic region of Amdo**

Takayoshi Yamaguchi

Amdo is a nomadic pastoral area, where full-time herders have raised yak (Bos grunniens) and grazed them on natural grasslands since ancient times. In the pastoral lifestyle, most materials for food, clothing, and housing are provided by livestock in the form of their meat, milk, hides, and hair. However, the current prevalence of the commodity economy is undermining subsistence pastoralism, which depends on livestock products. Additionally, though the mobility of herders and livestock has been significant in sustaining the grassland resources for pastoralism, the policy of rangeland privatization restricts such mobility. Due to these changes, the pastoralism lifestyle is at a crossroads, and Amdo is no exception. Therefore, our project aims to systematically record the traditional lifestyle of Amdo, by compiling a pastoral dictionary. This project started in April 2014 and, up to October 2015, collected more than 1500 words related to Amdo pastoralism. To systematically sort this vocabulary, first, we divided words into two categories of "A. Pastoral activities" and "B. Pastoral livelihoods." The category of "A. Pastoral activities" includes the words which are used in actual livestock production, and this broad category is classified into more detailed sub-categories: "A-1. Perception of natural environment"; "A-2. Perception of livestock"; "A-3. Livestock management"; and "A-4. Livestock production." While crop farmers have transformed their surroundings according to their needs by constructing irrigation channels or by deforestation, nomadic pastoralists have utilized the natural environment. Therefore, pastoralists have accumulated knowledge of the surrounding aerology, botany, or zoology; thus, we organized the related vocabulary as "A-1. Perception of natural environment." Along with an intimate knowledge of the natural environment, nomadic herders know their livestock well; therefore, the vocabulary that describes characteristics of individual animals, such as coat color or behavior, is also well developed. Additionally, nomadic herders intricately classify their livestock according to their ability, age, or gender. We tagged such words as "A-2. Perception of livestock." Based on their perception of the environment and livestock, nomadic herders have physically managed their livestock by herding, milking, or slaughtering. The words related to this direct approach to livestock are classified as "A-3. Livestock management." Through this management, nomadic herders finally obtain livestock products of meat, milk, or hair; they classify these products into detailed categories based on their quality or properties. The corresponding words are tagged as "A-4. Livestock production." A broad category of "B. Pastoral livelihoods" includes vocabulary

which is not necessarily related to livestock husbandry, but is used to describe important aspects of nomadic pastoralism. This broad category is also divided into four sub-categories: “B-1. Food, clothing, and housing”; “B-2. Daily livelihood”; “B-3. Religious livelihood”; and “B-4. Current changes.” The sub-category of “B-1. Food, clothing, and housing” includes words used in the literal sense; for instance, the various names of daily meals or the names of the nomadic tent’s parts. The sub-category of “B-2. Daily livelihood” includes the basic daily vocabulary describing kinship relations, metrological units, or family groceries. As in other Tibetan regions, religious activities are central in Amdo pastoralists’ lives. We sorted the vocabulary relating to religious acts or Buddhist altar articles into the category of “B-3. Religious livelihood.” In addition to these, we provided the sub-category of “B-4. Current changes”: this sub-category includes the words relating to current policies or newly introduced commodities, such as certification documents of grassland contracts or dairy processing machines. We aim to systematize the pastoral vocabulary according to this categorization. Of course, there are many words which belong to various sub-categories. For instance, the word *tshethar* denotes the religious act of saving animals from being slaughtered. The livestock of *tshethar* are treated differently from ordinary livestock; thus, the word *tshethar* can appear in both “A-3. Livestock management” and “B-3 Religious livelihood.” We consider that grasping such multiplexity of the pastoral vocabulary will lead to deeper understanding of the actual situations of their traditional pastoralism. As mentioned above, the rangeland policy restricts the mobility of pastoral people; limiting grazing to specific areas may lead to the decline of the knowledge of “A-1. Perception of natural environment.” Moreover, the policy of eco-migration encourages pastoral people to migrate from grasslands to urban areas, and this break with the pastoral lifestyle could directly lead to forgetting the pastoral vocabulary. As shown in our categorization, the vocabulary that has been accumulated among pastoral societies embodies the historical relationship between people, livestock, and nature; therefore, the loss of the pastoral vocabulary might be considered the loss of cultural inheritance.

**Why Write Songs? The Circumstances of Composition of the Mgur of Zhang Tshal pa**

Carl Yamamoto

This paper will address a key question regarding the Tibetan song tradition customarily referred to as mgur, namely: What can we know about the circumstances of composition of such songs? In pursuit of this question, I will look at the songs of the twelfth-century founder of the Tshal pa Bka' brgyud pa, Zhang G.yu brag pa Brston 'grus grags pa (1122-1193), an important figure in the phyi dar Buddhist revival in Central Tibet. Zhang Tshal pa's work is particularly important because he stands as an early member of the line of Bka' brgyud pa mgur-writers descended from Mi la ras pa, the saintly recluse who has had the strongest influence on the Tibetan mgur genre. Zhang learned mgur from his root lama Mal Yer pa ba (1105-1170), a cotton-wearing yogi (ras pa). Yer pa ba in turned had been taught mgur by two direct disciples of Mi la ras pa himself, Ras chung pa and Gling kha ba. This would place Zhang two degrees removed from Mi la ras pa within Mi la ras pa's own lineage. This is important because it makes Zhang's mgur 'bum one of the earliest collections we have of mgur in the style of Mi la ras pa. Mi la ras pa's own work, as is well known, was collected some three and a half centuries after his death, which means it had passed through a complex oral and written tradition that, from the thirteenth century on, was strongly influenced by the Indian formal poetry known as kāvya. Zhang's songs may therefore be one of our best sources for information on pre-kāvya mgur from the phyi dar period. It is often taken for granted that mgur were spontaneous songs of realization improvised by a great master. But a look at the work of Zhang Tshal pa suggests there were a number of different circumstances and motivations behind his songs. In the interest of expanding our knowledge of the "textual economy" of Tibetan mgur beyond the commonplaces of spontaneity and realization, I will attempt to track these circumstances and motivations, which offer a much fuller picture of the genre and its surrounding social and religious context.

# The Different Types of Regents in Tibetan History: A Study on the Typical Features of the Traditional Tibetan Administrative System

Zhen Yang

As a typical feature of the traditional Tibetan administrative system, the role of regent in Tibet has a long history and diverse forms, also with far-reaching influence, it is of considerable worth to conduct in-depth research on the topic. There are many different words in the Tibetan language concerning the meaning of regent, such as rgyal-tshab, mkhan-tshab, gdan-tshab, dpon-tshab, khri-tshab, dpon-chen, srid-skyong, sde-srid, etc. These kinds of words themselves also reflect the different types of Regent in Tibetan history. The first kind of regent was closely related to religion and didn't possess political power, such as rgyal-tshab, mkhan-tshab, and gdan-tshab. The earliest person titled rgyal-tshab in Tibetan text is rgyal-tshab ma-pham-pa. According to the records of the bkav-vgyur, before Shakyamuni Buddha passed away, he appointed his disciple byams-pa mgon-po as the regent, and was named rgyal-tshab ma-pham-pa. And so was dar-ma rin-chen, the disciple of rje-tsong-kha-pa, named rgyal-tshab-rje. As to mkhan-tshab, rba-ye-shes-dbang-pa, the first Tibetan abbot of bsam-yas monastery appointed rba-dpal-dbyang as mkhan-tshab during his retreat. Moreover, gdan-tshab, for example, within the famous abbot system of sa-skya monastery, there were two gdan-tshab who were not from vkhon lineage, ba-ri-lo-tsva-ba and shar-pa-vjam-dbyang-rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan. The second kind of regent was in charge of administrative power, like the CEO(Chief Executive Officer) of the supreme leader. During the period of the Tibetan empire, khri-mang-srong-mang-btsan was the juvenile successor, the blon-chen mgar-stong-btsan yul-sung acting as his regent for the administration for eighteen years. So toowas the queen regent vbro-bzav khri-ma-lod for the two btsan-po generations of khri-vdus-srong and khri-lde-gtsug-btsan. During the reign of sa-skya-ba, there was sa-skya-dbon-chen, also known as dbus-gtsang-dbon-chen, who served as regent of the Sakya emperors. Also, during the rule of phag-mo-gru-pa, there was dbon-tshab- thel-gtong, rin-sbungs-pa-mtsho-skyes-rdo-rje, who acted as administrative regent for phag-gru-sde-srid for a period of nine years (1490-1499). The sde-srid of Darai V and Darai VI during the early establishment of dgav-ldan-pho-brang was the administrative regent too, also known as sa-skyong. The third kind of regent was the theocratic monk regent. This kind of regent, acted as the agent of political and spiritual power of the Dalai Lamas, which began during the reign of the 8th Dalai Lama and lasted up until the 14th Dalai Lama. There were a total of 15 monk regents. These 15 Regents were undoubtedly the highest form of regent in the history of Tibet, and also produced profound influence on

the dgav-ldan-pho-brang regime. The research on the type of regents in Tibetan history will provide us with an important clue to understanding the characteristics of the traditional Tibetan administrative system. Throughout the evolutionary process of this system, we will recognize that the power of religion, politics and administration had not been centralized and unified, but tended to be distrubed and balanced, which was fully expressed by the different types of regents which appeared throughout Tibetan history.

## Mongol Royal Lineages between Khams and A mdo: A Preliminary Study of a Chaghadaid Genealogy in Rdza chu kha and Mgo log

Eveline Yang

The influence of the Mongol Empire on Tibetan administrative structures, religious-political system, and production of canonical texts and religious art has been well studied in the past. Less is known about the human traces of the Mongol Empire on the Tibetan Plateau, for instance Tibetan genealogical links to the Mongol royal family. Mongolian authors writing in the 17th century began to claim the Indian royal lines and the Tibetan kings as the ancestors of Chinggis Qan. However, Tibetan claims to Chinggisid lines have been much more rare. This paper will present preliminary findings from the study of a unique Tibetan genealogical text (Tib. rus mdzod) in which a Tibetan clan, based mainly in Rdza chu kha and Mgo log, claims descent from the family of Chaghadai, the second son of Chinggis Qan. By identifying, tracing, and dating the development of variant Chaghadaid genealogies found in Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian, and Persian sources, the broader research aims to shed light on the cultural and political context in which this Mongol genealogy entered the Tibetan literature, and the possible historical personages linking Tibetans and Mongols between the regions we now think of as Khams and A mdo.

**Sectarian and Political Limits to the Spread of Vegetarianism in Tibet**

Nyangshem Gyal

Tibetan vegetarianism is a field of study still in its infancy – few have done research on this topic (Buffetrille 2014, Barstow 2013, Gaerrang 2011). My paper will examine an issue situated in Tibetan vegetarianism that has thus far not achieved any attention in the literature: why has vegetarianism spread to some communities but not others? I will examine this question from two perspectives – the sectarian and the political – based on fieldwork in three distinct cultural milieus: Rebgong, in northeast Amdo, Pema, in southeast Amdo, and Serta, in northeast Kham. Regarding the issue of the sectarian nature of Tibetan Buddhism, we can begin by noting that, presently, vegetarianism is primarily promoted by Nyingma religious authorities, while the practice seems limited in the Geluk tradition. This is due in part to the greater emphasis that Nyingma Pa place on practice rather than theories. This probably is also the reason why Nyingma Pa performs a more active vegetarianism than Geluk Pa. The earliest discourse on vegetarianism between Geluk and Nyingma can be traced back to the 15th century. Among them, Khedrup Je (1385-1438), who had defended meat eating, argued especially that meat can be eaten under the conditions of three pure ways. This message can be seen as the most crucial statement concerning meat or no meat along the Geluk lineage. It also results in the relationship between meat and compassion as being more flexible in Geluk practice: this allowed followers to practice compassion without abandoning meat, which is somehow conflicted with Shabkar's standpoint. Contemporarily, Alak Dorshi (1936-), has also responded to some Nyingma masters, saying that if vegetarianism is the criteria to justify if one is a Buddhist or not, then Buddhism would have never spread to Tibetan plateau; the fundamental idea of Buddhism is the unification of compassion and wisdom, so it must be flexible for the followers. From these Geluk scholars, we can see how the school has maintained a consistent defense on meat eating over several centuries. The approach of the non-sectarian rime movement towards vegetarianism provides a more complex case. Here, I examine the case of Pema County, which is located on the border between Kham and Amdo. It is culturally and politically closer to Amdo but religiously more influenced by Kham and therefore even the Geluk monasteries in Pema resemble Nyingma monasteries. Like other places at some people are unhappy with the situation, especially towards the New Ten Virtues. Nevertheless, the strong bonds between a monastery and its lay community means that people feel they cannot voice their opinions aloud, which makes the controversies on this issue more invisible. Then let us look at the political

influence on the spreading of vegetarianism in Tibet. Unlike Rebkong, there is no slaughterhouse in Pema, due to the practice of *Tse tar*: release the livestock until they naturally die. Many people do not consume meat from shops, instead, they only eat *Shi sha*: the meat of animals, which are naturally dead. As a result, the slaughterhouse in Pema had collapse in 2008. Therefore, the meat product in this place is surprisingly small. Yet the local government considered that a place without meat consumption is a social problem with strong impact on local economies. Therefore, since 2013, the Pema government adopted a policy by which every village in the region must slaughter 120 yaks per year and sell them to the government. Still, during my fieldwork in Pema, I learnt that most villages are not cooperating with this policy. In order to meet this requirement, they bought meat from other places like *Chikdril* and then sold this to their government. Determined to sway practice, the government organized a symposium at the end of 2013 with religious leaders from Pema County, asking them not to inspire their followers to become vegetarian, but rather to persuade them to sell their livestock. However, Pema therefore, is a good example through which to investigate how the idea of vegetarianism has become controversial; this also gives us a clear view of the religious, political, and ethical issues around the consumption of meat in this area.

Overall, although vegetarianism is related to core Buddhist ideas such as compassion, in the Tibetan context, the practice of vegetarianism is largely a Nyingma but not a Geluk practice. Along with the sectarian debates, later vegetarianism also became controversial in society. Religious and political authorities have dealt with this tension in many ways. But the debates in Tibetan society are still very tense, especially between Kham and Amdo.

**Community-led research, traditional knowledge and climate change – Case of Tibetan People in NW of Yunnan, China**

Lun Yin

Considering importance of agro-pastoralist to local people and rich biodiversity of local resources, Center for Tibetan Region Sustainable Development (CTRSD) of Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences (YASS) has carried out research on practice and activities of climate change in Hongpo Watershed of Deqin County of Diqing Prefecture since 2007. Through literature review and statistics from local government and based on field investigation carried out in 2005, this paper discusses the impact of climate change on local traditional livelihood. According to investigation, the climate change not only changes biodiversity of local resources and livelihood environment of local people, but also affects local knowledge and traditions of livelihood. At the same time, the paper also analyzes local practice and adaption to climate change based on indigenous knowledge, in terms of how to alleviate degree of local climate change and how local people adjust livelihood traditions to adapt to the climate change. Local practice can not only reflect value of local knowledge to adapt to the climate change, but also provide importance information for local government to make policies on climate change in the future.

**The origin of the 'voiced' transitive Classical Tibetan present stems, and their fate in spoken dialects – Evidence for an early split of Tibetan**

Marius Zemp

The divergent meanings that are widely attested for all four stems of the transitive Classical Tibetan (CT) verb paradigms allow us to reconstruct a Proto-Tibetan (PT) verb system in which the alternating onset triggered a focus on one of three phases of an event: a p-prefixed voiceless onset on its initial phase (i.e. its instigation), a nasal-prefixed voiced onset on its final phase (i.e. its result), and a voiceless aspirated onset on the medial phase that linked the two other phases. It is convenient to call the three different PT stems 'A-, Z-, and M-phasives', respectively. There were two kinds of Z-phasives (VZ): The 'completive' ones (VZc) related to the state resulting from an event, and the 'non-completive' ones (VZnc) to its achievement. At some stage of PT, only completive Z-phasives could be followed by the 'stative' -s-suffix and thereby came to describe the state that resulted from a past event, while the simple forms of the non-completive Z-phasives were used without a suffix and thereby described past events. We may then observe two diverging ways in which *VZc-s (e.g. *'gag-s 'is blocked') evolved in different varieties of Tibetan. In Purik, for instance, *VZc-s merged with *VZnc-ø in describing intransitive past events (cf. gaχs 'was blocked' and bri 'became less'). In CT, on the other hand, *VZc-s merged with the originally nominal *VZnc-t in describing transitive 'generic events', i.e. what is always done (in a certain way) under certain circumstances (cf. 'gegs 'is blocked' and 'brid 'becomes less'). The intransitive reflexes of *VZc-s found in most Central Tibetan (including Lhasa and Shigatse) and western dialects suggest that these dialects stem from the same branch as Purik. In contrast, the imperfective function *VZc-s regularly serves in Jirel (cf. Strahm and Maibaum 1999) and Sherpa (cf. Tournadre et al. 2009) as well as Nomadic Amdo Tibetan (cf. Haller 2004) indicates that these dialects are more closely related with CT. Its divergent evolution in the two branches of Tibetan suggests that *VZc-s must have been pushed out of its resultative function by a somehow superior resultative construction. The inferential *V-s-'dug that is attested throughout the Tibetan dialects (cf. Zemp 2014:135) meets all that is required from the construction that could have triggered such a divergence. In Purik, on the one hand, *V-s-'dug must have grammaticalized in a polar opposition with *V-s-yod (eventually yielding V-suk and V-set). While the former construction thereby came to indicate the directly attested result of an inductively inferred past event, the latter came to indicate the present state that was deductively inferred from one's knowledge about the past event that led to it. Because both *V-s-'dug and *V-s-yod thus primarily came to make an indication about a resultant state that held

at the moment of speaking, *VZc-s was pushed into indicating past events. In dialects such as Sherpa and Jirel, on the other hand, *V-s-'dug must have grammaticalized in a polar opposition with the past testimonial *V-song (cf. Strahm 1975 and Schoettelndreyer 1975, respectively) . Both constructions thereby came to primarily make a statement about a past event: *V-song that it was directly witnessed, and *V-s-'dug that only its result was attested. As a consequence, *VZc-s was pushed out of both its near past and present resultative into a more abstract presentic (such as the imperfective) function. *VZc-s appears to have had the same fate in Amdo (and parts of Kham) Tibetan, where *V-thal closely corresponds to the *V-song of Sherpa and Jirel (cf. Sun 1993). Purik and Amdo are likely to have been tibetanized by the eighth century. *V-s-'dug is hence assumed here to have emerged in a late stage of a Proto-Tibetan that was spoken at the same time that Old Tibetan (OT) was written down. This also implies that OT was only minimally affected by the changes the spoken dialects underwent at the same time (which is also suggested by Takeuchi 2012). The author is hoping to be able to present a more finegrained classification of the Tibetan dialects by carefully studying the distribution and functions of the different auxiliaries (e.g. *_byung_, *_bzhag_, *_rag_, *_lab_, *_zer_, etc.) that came to play a role alongside the basic pairs of constructions that were reconstructed here for the Proto-Tibetan verb system.

**Disenfranchisement among Tibetan Urbanities? - A tertiary graduate students' employment opportunities perspective**

Adrian Zenz

In the wake of the neoliberal reforms and attendant marketization processes of the past two decades, the Chinese government's minority preferentiality approach has been shifting more toward economic benefits. Besides aiming for economic growth, the state has also invested in the education system, with the result that regions with Tibetan majority populations are now featuring higher numbers of students and teachers than in previous decades. Both of these measures have promoted urbanisation processes, and arguably have mainly profited urban populations. However, not all urban constituents have equally benefited, especially when we define urban populations as broadly ranging from potentially remote and small urban centres (such as county seats) to provincial capitals. Even though substantial expansions of secondary and tertiary education have accelerated urbanisation, they have also exacerbated discrepancies between growing numbers of higher-educated Tibetans on the one hand, and limited adequate employment opportunities for such graduates on the other. Through analysing data sources such as educational statistics, advertised public job recruitment documents and tertiary student intake tables, this paper seeks to evaluate potential impacts of these dynamics on urban stratification. Educational data shows that in Qinghai and the TAR, shares of tertiary students in relation to total populations have increasingly caught up with the Chinese national average. However, compared to other Western provinces such as Sichuan or Gansu, significant gaps between secondary and tertiary enrolment shares remain. Gaps between secondary and tertiary student shares are especially problematic from an urban marginalisation perspective, because those without a tertiary degree are effectively excluded from better employment opportunities. With rising living expenses, they struggle to maintain a livelihood in larger urban centres, and may then become part of the many disenfranchised urban populations in smaller towns. But tertiary graduate employment has also been an increasing challenge since the abolishment of the socialist job assignment system - especially among lesser-educated minority populations. Informal private sector work offers unreliable and often temporary employment with low pay and poor benefits. However, the better-paying corporate private sector remains severely underdeveloped in Western China, and related jobs require excellent Chinese skills and degrees from good universities. Consequently, Tibetan graduates are often restricted to either government work or the informal urban sector. Recent university graduate student reports confirm this trend. Those without a tertiary education are excluded from public job recruitment. The discrepancy between rising educational

outputs and restricted employment opportunities is a particular issue for graduates from Tibetan-medium degrees, and there, overreliance on public sector employment is especially severe. Regional differences are marked, with Qinghai, the leading region for Tibetan-medium tertiary education, offering disproportionally low numbers of related advertised government positions mandating Tibetan-medium degrees. The TAR has much lower per capita numbers of Tibetan-medium tertiary graduates, and hence this ratio has been much better. Of particular relevance is the fact that the TAR announced a full employment policy for its locally-resident graduates in 2011. According to advertised recruitment figures, this has been put into practice and benefited both Tibetan-medium and Chinese-medium degree graduates, albeit more so for the latter. No such policy has been proposed in Qinghai, and the ratio of Tibetan-medium degree graduates versus related advertised government recruitment has been considerably worse than the same ratio for all of Qinghai's tertiary graduates. As stated before, this is especially problematic because Tibetan-medium graduates are almost exclusively dependent on such positions for securing adequate employment (adequate in relation to the effort and expense of undergoing tertiary study). At the same time, Tibetan majority regions in Qinghai and Sichuan have seen rapid increases in total advertised recruitment. Even though Tibetans in general do benefit from this trend, those with stronger Chinese language skills and related degrees will have been the main beneficiaries. Overall, the relationship between increasing access to higher education and related employment prospects is complex and regionally-diverse. The TAR's response to the graduate employment dilemma effectively resuscitates key aspect of the socialist "iron rice bowl". While ensuring equal opportunities for those able to secure a tertiary education, and hence potentially reducing a part of intra-urban socio-economic stratification, the TAR's public employment approach has clearly not been designed to promote the role of the Tibetan language in careers and society. In other regions such as Qinghai, the gap between rising numbers of qualified tertiary graduates and related adequate employment opportunities is starting to narrow in recent years, but not for graduates from Tibetan-medium degrees. Consequently, these graduates are especially likely to end up in marginalised circumstances.

**The traditional trad betreen Chinese Tibet and Bhutan_three patterns**

Zha Luo

As aresult of the difference of products effeted by nature and climate environment, Chinese Tibet and Bhutan have been maitained an intimate trade relation in history, and therefore several of trading post have formed on the border. According to Tibetan history archives, the trading patterns of these trading posts were different due to traffic condition, distance betreen communities and other factors. In phag-ri, there was a regulatory regime called “homing birds” to Bhutanese businessmen, which demanded that the Bhutanese businessmen must form constantrelations with phag-ri’s residents, who would provide services and security, while Tibet held responsible for the dfficial trade. In klung-brdol(sa-sbug earlier) of lho-brag, since the Himalayas had to be crossed over, there was an institution that the market were held four times per year. The authorities supervised and encouraged properly. Both sides were in charge of the transport of each other’s commodity betreen klung-brdol to ‘tshams-pa (Bhutan) and needed to provide food on passage. In lha-khang,numbers of Tibetan became agents of Bhutanese businessmen( including the royals). The private bilateral trades were mainly at autumn, winter, and the dry season, while the authorities monopolized the bulk commodity such as salt and rice. These trading activities not only satisfied the needs of residents on both sides, but also had a radiation effect on the economy of farther afield. For example, many animal by-products were from sna-ka-rtse, mtso-smad, and even byang-thang; the bamboo wares and woodwork were mostly from southern Bhutan; as for industrial products, they were British goods from Assam. Nowadays, we shuld learn and get inspiration from these historical experience for the recovery and development of the bilateral trades.

**Expansion through Mental Geography: the manifestation of the Qing imperial landscape in the gazetteers of Mount Wutai**

Fan Zhang

Benedict Anderson describes a historical rupture in the eighteenth century Western Europe, which was characteristic of the replacement of the universal scripture with vernacular languages, the definition of sovereignty in terms of border instead of center, and the separation of history from cosmology (Anderson, 1991). In this process, techniques of classification and documentation – census, maps, museums and monuments – started to play significant role. It signals the changing principles of legitimacy and the political vocabulary. As historians of early modern China endeavor to imbed the eighteenth century China into the global territorial and economic expansionism (Perdue, 1996; di Cosmo, 1998; Pomeranz, 2000; Wong, 1997), it is worthwhile to investigate the ways in which political techniques and the means of legitimation were refashioned in the turning process from the Qing Dynasty to the Qing Empire. In this light, Laura Hostetler (2001) suggests that the Qing Empire took part in the global cartographic and ethnographic knowledge production. Paradoxically, instead of scientificity and objectivity, Qing ethnographic knowledge was featured with the "continued use of more 'traditional' maps in local gazetteers" (Hostetler, 2001: 21) and the "concurrent reliance on previous non-verifiable literary sources" (2001, 94-95). In order to understand the motley of the accurate presentation of the imperial landscape and the artistic representation of the cosmological order, it is required to locate the development of political techniques in a conversational setting rather than a monologue. In other words, it is necessary to clarify to whom those presentations and representations were addressed, what new conceptualizations of the empire-state and new political vocabularies were introduced through these new modes of representations, and in what way they led to the recognition of legitimacy and the sense of unity. As pointed out by Chia Ning (1992), the Qing imperial rituals performed by and for the Mongolian, Uyghur and Tibetans of the Inner Asian frontier were in fact a mechanism of incorporation through ritualistic codes as much as a technique of legitimation. In the same token, I take the production of ethno/geographic knowledge as a process of incorporating the alien "other" into the constitutive "self". The huge amount of ethno/geographic texts produced in the Qing period reflect the efforts to create a "Qing cosmopolitanism" and the sense of "our Great Qing" (Elverskog 2006; 2011). Among them the composition and publication of the gazetteers of Mount Wutai attracted the most attention and efforts (Debreczeny 2011, 5). Although being taken as a transnational pilgrimage center for the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Mongolians, the

Koreans and the Japanese, the registers of Mount Wutai were largely in Chinese (Tuttle 2011). In the eighteenth century when Tibetan Buddhism was at its apex at Mount Wutai, the Tibetan-language registers – poetry, prose, guidebooks, and maps - started to envision and embody Mount Wutai in the Buddhist world (Schaeffer 2011). One of the most influential works was the History of the Holy Clear and Cool Mountain (Ri bo dbang bsil gyi kar chag mjug ma tshang ba yod) composed by Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786) in 1767. Lcang skya's role in shaping the sacredness of Mount Wutai is easily simplified as Qing Emperor's manipulation. The agency of Lcang skya, through his discursive power as an erudite high lama and his cosmic power as a tantric yogi, has been largely underestimated (Illich, 2006). lCang skya was born in Amdo Tibetan region, educated as a Tibetan Buddhist, and incorporated into the Qing bureaucratic system. Thus, he was representative of both the Qing ruling class and the Tibet at Qing's Inner Asian frontier; his work was derived from and producing for both the Tibetan and the Chinese ethno/geographic traditions. In this paper I examine Lcang skya's text and compare it with the Chinese versions composed in 1661 by Awang Laozang (阿王老藏) and 1701 by Laozang Danbei (老藏丹貝), both as the Head Lama of Mount Wutai appointed by the Qing court. Through analyzing how different traditions were represented in the making of the sacred mountain, I investigate the ways in which imperial landscape was manifested in the vision of Tibetan Buddhist world and the imperial political vocabulary was enriched by the Tibetan Buddhist discourses. I argue that the cosmopolitan multi-ethnic elites actively participated in the formation of a new cosmo-order that intersected with the Confucian order to empower the non-Han Emperor and the Empire-beyond-the-pass through re-coordinating time and space.